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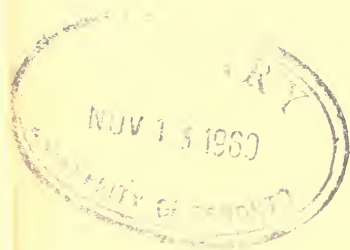


A G E

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T H E
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L O U I S X V .

Being the SEQUEL of the

A G E of L O U I S X I V .

Translated from the FRENCH of

M. D E V O L T A I R E .

W I T H A

S U P P L E M E N T ,

Comprising an Account of all the public and
private Affairs of FRANCE, from the Peace of
VERSAILLES, 1763, to the Death of LOUIS
XV. May 10th, 1774.

V O L. I.

And Thirty-seventh of his Works.

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T H E

AGE OF LOUIS XV.

CHAP. I.

The State of EUROPE, on the Death of
LOUIS XIV.

LOUIS the fifteenth was left an orphan, at a time when it would have been too tedious, difficult and dangerous to assemble the general estates of the kingdom, to regulate the pretensions made to the regency. The parliament of Paris had formerly given it to two queens ; they gave it now to the duke of Orleans. They had set aside the testament of Louis XIII. they now set aside that of his successor Louis XIV. Philip, duke of Orleans, grandson of France, was declared absolute master by the

Sept.
1715.

very parliament, he soon after sent into exile.*

The better to comprehend by what blind fatality the affairs of the world are governed, it

* The author of the pretended memoirs of madame de Maintenon, and of the notes, inserted by Beaumelle in his edition of the age of Louis XIV. published at Frankfort, has boldly advanced that the great hall of the palace was, on this occasion, filled with officers, who had arms concealed under their clothes: this is not true; I was myself there, and saw many more lawyers than either officers or other people. There was not the least appearance of party, much less of tumult. It had indeed been the greatest folly to introduce partizans with concealed arms, to irritate the minds of the people who were then universally disposed in favour of the duke of Orleans. There was only a detachment of French and Swiss guards on duty about the palace.

This story of the great hall's being filled with armed officers, is taken from the memoirs of the regency, and the life of Philip duke of Orleans;—contemptible productions printed in Holland, and replete with falsehood.

The author of de Maintenon's memoirs tells us, that, “The president Lubert, the first president de maisons, and many other members of the assembly were ready to declare against the duke of Orleans.” It is true, there was at that time a president de Lubert; but he was only president aux enquetes; an office which does not intermeddle with public affairs. He had never been first president de maisons. It was Claude de Melmes, by name d’Avaux who then enjoyed that department. M. de Maisons, brother-in-law to marshal Villars, was president à mortier and

it is necessary to remark, that the Ottoman empire, which had been able to oppose that of Germany, during the tedious war of 1701, waited only for the conclusion of the general peace to make fresh war on Christendom. Accordingly, this year the Turks made themselves masters of the Peloponnese, which the celebrated and strongly attached to the duke of Orleans. It was at his very house that the marquis de Canillac and some other confidants of the prince, had settled the plan of the regency. To him also was promised the place of keeper of the seals; but he died soon after. These are known facts to which I myself was witness, and which are recorded in the manuscript memoirs of marshal Villars.—The compiler of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon observes on this occasion, that in the treaty of Rastadt, entered into by marshal Villars and prince Eugene, “There were certain secret articles by which the duke of Orleans was excluded the throne.” This is false and absurd; there was no secret article in the treaty of Rastadt which was an authentic treaty of peace. Such secret articles are inserted only in treaties among confederates, who are desirous of concealing the honour of their conventions from the public. To exclude the duke of Orleans from the throne, would have been to give, in case of accident, the crown of France to Philip V. of Spain, competitor of the emperor Charles VI. with whom that treaty was made. This had been to destroy the whole fabric of the peace of Utrecht, to which France had given the finishing stroke; it would have been an insult to the emperor, and the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. Nothing can be more absurd than this suggestion.

Morosini, surnamed the Peloponnesiac, had taken from them, toward the end of the seventeenth century, and which was allotted to the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who was guarantee of that treaty, was hence obliged to declare himself against the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had formerly beaten them at Zante, passed the Danube, and gave battle, near Peterwaradin, to the Grand Vizir Ali, favorite of Sultan Achmet the third; and obtained a most signal victory.

Though the relation of particular circumstances does not enter into a general plan of history, we cannot omit here an account of the signal bravery of a French officer, celebrated for his remarkable adventures. Count Bonneval, who, upon some disagreement with the ministry, had quitted the service of France, was then a major-general under prince Eugene, and happened, in the course of the battle, to be surrounded by a very numerous body of Janissaries. With the assistance only of two hundred men of his own regiment, he withstood the attack of the Turks above an hour; and when he was at length so wounded by a spear as to be unable to stand, he was carried off by only ten soldiers, the remains of his corps, to the victorious army.

This

This same man, at that time banished from France, returned and was publicly married at Paris; some years after which, he repaired to Constantinople, turned Mussulman and died a Bashaw.

The Grand Vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle; and as the manners of the Turks were not then civilized, he gave orders before his death for the massacre of one of the Emperor's generals who had been taken prisoner.

Prince Eugene besieged Belgrade the following year, in which place was a garrison of near fifteen thousand men. At the same time he found himself besieged by an innumerable army of Turks; who advanced toward his camp and entrenched themselves around him. Finding himself in the same situation as Cæsar at the siege of Alesia, he extricated himself in the same manner, by first beating the enemy in the field, and then taking the town. His army was in the most imminent danger of destruction, but military discipline triumphed over superior numbers and undisciplined valour.

This prince carried his glory to the highest pitch by the peace of Passarowitz; which gave Belgrade and Temeswar to the emperor; but the Venetians, for whose sake the war originally commenced,

were abandoned, and irretrievably lost their possessions in Greece.

The face of affairs underwent as great a change among the Christian potentates. The union and good understanding subsisting between France and Spain, which had appeared so formidable, and had so much alarmed the several states of Europe, was destroyed as soon as the eyes of Louis XIV. were closed. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable with regard to his solicitude for the service of his pupil, behaved as if he himself was to succeed to the throne. He entered into a strict alliance with England, the reputed natural enemy of France; and came to an open rupture with the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. On the other hand, Philip the fifth, who had renounced the crown of France by the peace, excited, or rather lent his name for exciting, seditions in France; by means of which he hoped to be invested with the regency of a country, where he could not reign. Thus all the views of his family, all their negotiations with the several powers of Europe, and their system of politics underwent a total change on the death of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Alberoni, first minister of Spain, took it into his head to overturn the whole political state of Europe, and was very near accomplishing

complishing his end. He had in a few years put the finances and troops of the Spanish monarchy on a respectable footing, for which he now formed the project of recovering Sardinia, then in the hands of the emperor; and Sicily, of which the dukes of Savoy had been in possession ever since the peace of Utrecht. He was going to change the constitution of England, in order to prevent any opposition to his designs from that quarter, and was on the point of raising a civil war in France with a similar view. At one, and the same time, he was carrying on different negociations with the Porte, the Czar Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles the twelfth of Sweden. He was on the point of engaging the Turks to renew the war against the Emperor; while Charles the twelfth, seconded by the Czar, was in person to conduct the Pretender to England, and restore him to the throne of his ancestors.

This intriguing cardinal effected an insurrection in Britany; and actually caused a number of troops, under the appearance of salt-smugglers, to march, by the direction of one Colinceri, to join the insurgents. The conspiracy of the duchess of Maine, cardinal Polignac, and several others, was ripe for execution; the intention was, if possible, to seize the person of the duke of Orleans; to deprive

him of the regency, and to give it to Philip V. king of Spain. Thus cardinal Alberoni, formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, would have been at once prime-minister of France and Spain, and have given an entire new face to all Europe.

A simple accident dissipated all these vast projects. A courtesan at Paris betrayed the conspiracy, which the moment it was discovered became useless. The king of Sweden, who was to have placed the Pretender on the throne of England, was killed in Norway. Alberoni had prepared himself so many resources, however, that some part of his projects began to take effect. The fleet he had fitted out, made a descent on Sardinia in the year 1717, and in a few days reduced it under subjection to Spain; and in the following year, he reduced, in like manner, almost all Sicily. But not being able to succeed either in preventing the Turks concluding a peace with the Emperor Charles VI. or in exciting the intended civil wars in France and England, this ambitious prelate had the mortification to see united against him the Emperor, the regent of France, and king George I.

The Regent of France, in concert with the English, made war on Spain; so that the first war undertaken by Louis XV. was against his uncle;

uncle; whom Louis XIV. had, at the expence of so much blood, established on his throne; which was in fact a kind of civil war. The king of Spain had taken care to have the three flowers-de-luce painted on all the colours of his army. The duke of Berwick, who had fought and won so many battles to gain him the crown, now commanded the French army against him; while the duke of Liria, his son, was a general officer in the Spanish service. On this occasion, the father exhorted his son, in a very pathetic letter, bravely to discharge his duty against himself. The abbé Dubois, afterwards cardinal, like Alberoni, a child of fortune and equally singular in character, being then secretary of state, directed the whole enterprize.—It was la Motte Foudart who drew up the manifesto against Spain, which was never signed.

The English fleet, at this time obtaining a victory over that of Spain near Messina, the schemes of cardinal Alberoni were all disconcerted; and this minister, who but six months before was admitted as the greatest statesman in the world, was looked upon ever after, as a rash and inconsiderate projector. The duke of Orleans would not make peace with Philip V. but on condition of his delivering up this minister, which was accordingly done, and the French

troops conducted him to the frontiers of Italy.

It was the same Alberoni, who, being afterwards legate at Bologna, and having no opportunity to subvert kingdoms, employed his leisure in attempting to ruin the little republic of St. Marino.

The final result of all his great designs, however, proved to be, that Sicily was given to the emperor Charles VI. and Sardinia to the dukes of Savoy, who have possessed that island ever since, and now bear the title of kings of Sardinia. But the house of Austria has since lost the island of Sicily.

These public events are sufficiently known ; which is not the case with the following anecdote, though equally true.

When the regent of France wanted to make it a condition of the peace, that his daughter, mademoiselle de Montpensier, should marry the prince of Asturia, Don Louis, and that the infanta of Spain should be given in marriage to the king of France, he could not effect his design without applying to the Jesuit, d'Aubanton, confessor of Philip V. This Jesuit prevailed on the king of Spain to consent to this double marriage ; but it was on condition that the duke of Orleans, who had declared himself against the Jesuits, should become their protector;

protector, and should cause the constitution to be registered. The duke promised both, and kept his word. Such are often the secret springs of great revolutions, both in church and state.

This affair was managed solely by the abbé Dubois, intended archbishop of Cambray, and in effect procured him his cardinal's hat. He caused the bull to be implicitly registered by the grand council, or rather in spite of the grand council, by the princes of the blood, the dukes and peers, the marshals of France, the counsellors of state, the masters of the requests, and particularly by the chancellor d'Aguesseau himself, who had so long opposed its acceptance. This abbé Dubois, obtained even a recantation from cardinal de Noailles. The regent of France found himself, by this intrigue, connected for some time in the same interests with the Jesuit d'Aubanton.

Philip V. began to be attacked by a melancholy, which, joined to his 1720. devotion, led him to renounce the cares of a throne, and to resign his crown to his eldest son, Don Louis ; a design which he afterwards put in execution in the year 1724. This secret he imparted to d'Aubanton ; who trembled to think he should lose all his power, when his penitent should be no longer master ;
and

and that he should be reduced to follow him into solitude.

Alarmed with these apprehensions, he revealed to the duke of Orleans the confession of Philip V. not doubting but that prince would exert himself to the utmost, to prevent the king of Spain's abdication. The regent had different views ; and was satisfied with the prospect of seeing his son-in-law a king ; and a Jesuit, who had so much controuled his inclinations in the affairs of the constitution, no longer in a situation to prescribe him conditions. He sent back d'Aubanton's letter, therefore, to the king of Spain : that monarch very coolly presented it to his confessor, who immediately fainted at the sight, and died in a short time afterwards.*

* This fact is attested in the civil history of Spain, written by Bellando, and printed by express permission of the Spanish court. It should be to be found in the library of the Cordeliers at Paris. The reader may turn to page 306, part the fourth. I have now the copy before me. This perfidy of d'Aubanton, of a species more common than is generally imagined, is well known to more than one of the Spanish grandees, who confirm it.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the State of EUROPE. Regency of the Duke of ORLEANS, and the System of the famous LAW.

NOTHING could be more astonishing to the several courts of Europe, than to see some time after, in the years 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly so embittered against each other, strictly united; the course of political affairs taking so different a turn from their natural channel, that the Spanish ministry directed the court of Vienna for the space of a whole year. This court, whose intention had ever been to prevent the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon, having access to Italy, suffered itself to be so far diverted from its former views, as to receive a son of Philip V. and of Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into the very country, from which it had been hitherto desirous of excluding every Frenchman and Spaniard. The Emperor conferred on this youngest son of his competitor, the investiture of Parma, Placentia, and the grand duchy of Tuscany; and, notwithstanding there was no vacancy in the succession to those estates, Don Carlos

Carlos took possession of them, with about six thousand Spaniards, and at the expence of about two hundred thousand pistoles, which the court of Spain remitted to Vienna.

This error in politics committed by the Emperor, was not one of those which may be called fortunate; on the contrary, it cost him very dear in the sequel. Every thing was strangely contradictory in this coalition; it was an union between two houses at mutual enmity, who placed no confidence in each other. The English, who had done every thing in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Gibraltar and Minorca, were the mediators of this treaty. Ripperda, a Dutchman, now become a duke, and all-powerful in Spain, was the person who signed it; for which he was afterwards degraded, and retired to end his days in the kingdom of Morocco; where he attempted to establish a new religion.

In the mean time, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which his secret enemies, and the general disorder of the finances might naturally have rendered the most factious and turbulent, had proved, on the contrary, the most peaceable and happy. That habit of obedience, which the French nation had assumed under Louis XIV. was at once the security of the regent, and of the

the

the public tranquillity. The conspiracy, projected at a distance by cardinal Alberoni, and badly conducted in France, was suppressed almost as soon as formed. The parliament, which, in the minority of Louis XIV. had caused a civil war about the disposal of a dozen places in the court of requests, and had annulled the testaments of Louis XIII. and XIV. with less formality than they would have done the will of an obscure individual, had hardly the liberty of making remonstrances when the nominal value of the coin was raised to thrice its former standard. The solemnity of their walking from the Great-hall to the Louvre, afforded only matter of raillery to the people. The most unjust edict that ever was made, that of restraining every inhabitant in the kingdom from keeping above five hundred livres in ready money by him at a time, excited not the least emotion. The total want of current specie for the use of the public ; a whole people pressing in crowds to an office, to receive the money necessary to procure the conveniencies of life, in exchange for notes universally cried down, and yet universally distributed ; the pressing to death a number of citizens in the croud, and the exhibition of their dead bodies before the royal palace, produced not the least appearance of sedition. In short, even the famous project
of

of LAW, which seemed calculated to ruin at once the regency and the state, was, in fact, the support both of one and the other; and that by consequences which nobody had foreseen.

The spirit of cupidity which it excited among persons of all conditions, even from the very-lowest of the people up to magistrates, bishops and princes, diverted their minds from all attention to public good, or the political views of ambition; by engrossing them wholly with the fear of loss and the hope of gain. It was a new and extraordinary kind of play, in which the whole people were engaged one against another. The gamesters were too eager to lay down their cards to disturb the repose of government. It even happened, by means of a delusion, the springs of which are visible only to the most clear and experienced eyes, that this scheme, chimerical as it was, gave birth to real commerce, and was the cause of the revival of the East-India company, which had been set on foot by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the succeeding wars. In a word, though a number of private fortunes were sacrificed, the nation presently became more rich and commercial. This great project enlightened the minds of the people, just as a civil war improves their courage.

It was an epidemical distemper, that spread itself from France into Holland and England; and is well deserving the attention of posterity. It was not the political interests of two or three princes, that in this case involved whole kingdoms in confusion. It was the people themselves, who ran precipitately into a folly, that enriched so many families at the expence of others, whom it reduced to beggary. The origin of this phrenzy, preceded and followed by so many others, was this.

A certain Scotchman, named John Law, a man who had no other profession than that of a gamester and calculator of chances, having been obliged to fly his country for a murder, had long since formed the plan of a company, that might pay off the debts of the state by notes, and reimburse itself by its profits. This plan was very complicated; but, confined within proper bounds, might have been made very useful. It was an imitation of the bank of England and its East-India company. He proposed its establishment first to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, afterwards king of Sardinia; who rejected it, saying, he was not powerful enough to ruin himself. He proposed it next to the comptroller-general des Marets; but this was during an unsuccessful war,

war, when public credit, which was the basis of the system, was destroyed.

At length, he found every circumstance favorable under the regency of the duke of Orleans; the French nation had a debt of two hundred millions to discharge; the peace had left the government at leisure, and both prince and people were fond of novelties.

In 1716, he established a bank in his own name, which soon becoming general, he united it with the Mississippi company; from whose commerce, at that time, people were given to expect great advantages. Seduced by the allurements of gain, the public bought up the joint stock of the company and bank with great avidity.

The wealth of the kingdom, which had been long confined in private hands, in distrust of public credit, now circulated in great profusion; the notes hence issued increasing that wealth in a double, a quadruple degree. France was in fact enriched by credit; while all ranks of people indulged themselves in a luxury, which extended even to her neighbours, who took a part in this kind of commerce.

The bank was declared royal in 1718, and took upon it the management of the trade to Senegal. It acquired also the privileges of the old East-India company, founded by the celebrated

celebrated Colbert; which had since come to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo. At length, it engrossed the farming of the national taxes. Every thing was now in the hands of the Scotchman, Law, and the finances of the whole kingdom depended on a trading company.

This company appeared indeed to be established on such vast foundations, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The duke of Orleans undoubtedly committed a great fault in leaving the public thus to itself. It would have been easy for government to give a check to this phrenzy; but the avarice of the courtiers, and the hopes of profiting by this disorder, prevented the putting a stop to it. The frequent rise and fall of the company's stocks, afforded an opportunity for obscure persons to make immense fortunes; many of them becoming in a few months richer than several princes.

Even Law himself, deceived by his own scheme, and intoxicated with the public folly as well as his own, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds in 1719 exceeded, fourscore times, the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. Even the government, at this time, paid all its annuities in paper.

But

But the regent soon found himself incapable of managing so immense and complicated a machine, the rapidity of whose motion bore it away and rendered it absolutely ungovernable. The late financiers, and the great bankers in conjunction, exhausted the royal bank, by drawing on it for considerable sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into specie; but the disproportion was enormous. Public credit dropt all at once; the regent made an attempt to recover it by issuing arrets, that effectually crushed it. Nothing was offered in payment but paper; so that a real poverty began to succeed a profusion of imaginary riches.

It was just at this crisis the office of comptroller-general of the finances was given to Law; a crisis at which it was impossible he should fulfil the duties of it. This was in the year 1720; the æra of the ruin of all the private fortunes of individuals, and of the finances of the kingdom.

In a short time after, he was converted from a Scotchman into a Frenchman, by naturalization; from a protestant into a catholic; from a mere adventurer into a lord possessed of the finest landed estate in the kingdom, and from a banker into a minister of state.

I saw

I saw him myself pass through the galleries of the palace royal, followed by dukes and peers, marshals of France, and bishops of the Gallican church.

Disorder and confusion were at the utmost height. The parliament of Paris made what opposition it could to these innovations, and was banished to Pontoise.

But Law himself, loaded with the public execration, was the same year obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a post-chaise that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon Condé, taking with him only about two thousand pounds sterling, almost the whole that remained of his transitory opulence.

The libels of those times accuse the regent of having engrossed all the money of the kingdom, to serve the purposes of his ambition; though it is certain he died above seven millions of livres in debt.

Law was accused of having sent the French specie out of the kingdom, for his own emolument; yet it is certain that he lived sometime in London on the liberality of the marquis de Laffay, and died at Venice in a state little removed from indigence. I saw his widow at Brussels as much reduced and humbled, as she had formerly been proud and haughty

at

at Paris. Such instances of reverse of fortune are not the least useful objects in history.

During these transactions the plague had committed great ravages in Provence. The nation was at war with Spain. Britany was on the point of rebellion. Conspiracies were formed against the regent; notwithstanding all which, he carried every point he aimed at, with hardly any trouble, both at home and abroad. The kingdom was in such a state of confusion, that every thing was to be dreaded; and yet this was the reign of pleasure and luxury.

It was necessary, after the failure of Law's project to reform the state; to this end, an account was taken of the situation of the private fortunes of individuals; an enterprize not less extraordinary than the project itself. This was indeed the greatest and most difficult achievement in the finances, as well as of public justice, that was ever attempted in any nation. It was begun toward the end of the year 1721; being planned and conducted by four brothers*, who had never before had any thing to do in public affairs; but whose genius and application deserved to be trusted with the fortune of the nation.

They begun their great undertaking, by establishing a sufficient number of offices for
the

* Named Paris.

the masters of requests and other judges ; they then laid down a clear and precise method for dissipating the chaos of confusion before them. Five hundred eleven thousand and nine persons, most of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All these numerous debts were liquidated at the sum of near sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions in specie, with the payment of which the government charged itself. Thus ended this astonishing game of chance, in which an unknown foreigner had engaged a whole nation*.

After the demolition of this vast edifice, which Law had so daringly erected, and which crushed its architect in its fall ; there remained however among its ruins the East-India com-

* The authors of the history of the regency, and of the life of the duke of Orleans, talk of this great affair just as ignorantly as they do of all others. They say M. de la Houssie, comptroller-general, was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans. Again, they mistake an obscure writer, named La Jonchère, for La Jon-hère, treasurer at war. Such are the books fabricated in Holland ! You may find in the continuation of Bouffier's universal history, printed in 1738 at Amsterdam, that the duke of Bourbon-Condé, first minister to the duke of Orleans, built the castle of Chantilly, with the profits he made by the Mississippi funds. You will find there also, that Law had twenty millions in the bank of England. Just as many lies as lines !

pany,

pany, which became, for some time, a rival to those of London and Amsterdam.

The madness of gaming in the stocks, which had seized the French, laid hold also of the Dutch and English. Those who had observed the methods, by which so many private persons in France had rapidly raised immense fortunes, on the credulity and ruin of the public, carried to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and to London, the same artifice, and the same phrenzy. It is with astonishment we still speak of those mad times and the political plague attending them. And yet this, after all, was trifling in comparison of the civil and the religious wars, which had, for so many years, made a scene of blood in Europe; or indeed of those national, or rather princely, wars, which have desolated so many countries.

There were not wanting a number of sharpers at Rotterdam and London, to make dupes of the public. Companies were formed and imaginary commerce struck out. Amsterdam, indeed, was soon undeceived. Rotterdam was, for some time, hurt; but London was totally undone in the year 1720*.

* Here the author makes use of a latitude of expression not unusual with him, but which sometimes leads him aside from strict truth; in fact, many of the principal citizens of London suffered, but not a tenth part were ruined.

From this phrenzy which prevailed in France and England followed a prodigious number of bankruptcies, frauds, robberies, public and private; with every kind of depravation of manners, the natural result of unlimited avarice.

CHAP. III.

The Administrations of the Cardinals DUBOIS, and FLEURY; with the Abdication of VICTOR AMADEUS.

WE must not pass over in silence the ministry of cardinal Dubois. He was the son of an apothecary of Brive-la-gaillard, in the province of Limosin. He set out in life with being tutor to the duke of Orleans; in which capacity, by administering to the pleasures of his pupil, he gained his confidence. A small share of wit, a strong turn for debauchery, great pliability, and above all, a taste like his master's for singularity, contributed to raise him an immense fortune. Had this cardinal prime-minister been a man of respectable character, this vast fortune would have excited the public indignation; but he

was an object only of ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans diverted himself with his prime-minister, after the manner of that pope whomade his buffoon, a cardinal. All was mirth and pleasantry during the regency of the duke of Orleans. The same spirit prevailed as in the time of the league (the civil war excepted); it was the true spirit of the nation, which the regent revived after the deep gloom of the last years of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois * finished his career in a course of debaucheries. On his death-bed, he thought of an expedient to prevent his being fatigued with religious ceremonies; on which it was well known he set but little value. He pretended there was a particular ceremonial

* The regent made cardinal Dubois prime-minister in 1722.

The compiler of Maintenon's memoirs tells us, that Louis XIV. having given a small benefice in 1692, to this abbé Dubois, then an obscure person, said of him that, "though he loved women, he formed no connexions; that though he tippled, he never got drunk; and though he gamed, he never lost his money." Mighty pretty reasons these for giving him a benefice! But where did this compiler come by this story? Who but himself would make Louis XIV. talk in such a manner? Did that monarch ever set eyes on Dubois in his life?—Besides the abbé Dubois was neither a tippler, nor a gamester.

with

with regard to cardinals ; who did not receive the sacrament and extreme unction in the same manner as ordinary penitents. The curate of Versailles accordingly left him, in order to inform himself of the mode of this ceremonial, and in the mean time Dubois died. We laughed at his death, as we did at his administration :—such was the character of the nation.

At this time the duke of Orleans took on himself the title of prime- 1723. minister ; because the king, being now out of his minority, the regency was at an end ; but he presently after followed his friend the cardinal. The character of this prince, however, was irreproachable, except for his extravagant thirst after novelty and pleasure.

Of all the descendants of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans resembled him most ; possessed of courage, good-nature, affability, sprightliness, frankness, and ease, with an understanding highly cultivated. His countenance, though incomparably more pleasing, bore a strong resemblance nevertheless to that of Henry IV. He took a fancy sometimes to put on a ruff, and then he was the handsome likeness of Henry.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded immediately to the ministry ; the only court-

intrigue he put in practice, being that of having the patent drawn up without delay, and getting the king to sign it, the moment he was informed of the duke of Orleans' death. But it was always the fate of the Condés to give place to priests. Henry de Condé was borne down by cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was banished by cardinal de Fleury.

If there ever was a happy man upon earth it was certainly cardinal de Fleury. Till he arrived at the age of seventy-three, he was esteemed a man of a most amiable and social disposition; and when at that advanced period of life, at which so many old men retire from the world, he took upon him the care of government, he was equally respected as the most sagacious and prudent. From 1726 to 1742, every thing prospered with him; still preserving, to almost ninety years of age, a clear head, and an unimpaired capacity for business.

When one reflects that out of a thousand contemporaries hardly one arrives at this age, one must confess the destiny of cardinal de Fleury to have been very singular. But tho' the singularity of his elevation be remarkable, in coming so late in life, its long uninterrupted duration, with the moderation of his temper,
and

and the urbanity of his manners, rendered it no less so.

The riches and magnificence of cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired to the popedom, are well known; as well as the arrogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and, dressed in the habit of a Monk, boasted that he led about the grandes of Spain by his hempen girdle. The royal pomp of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin, are well known. It remained for cardinal de Fleury to be distinguished by modesty; by a constant and inviolable rule of œconomy and simplicity. A want of dignity was the only defect in his character; a defect that sprung from his virtues, which were candour, equanimity, and the love of peace and regularity. He gave the world a proof that mild and conciliating spirits are formed to govern the rest.

He had as soon as possible got rid of his bishopric of Frejus; after having, by his œconomy, cleared it of its debts, and had done a great deal of good by his peaceable disposition. These were the two distinguishing parts of his character. The reason he gave to his diocesans for giving up his pastoral charge, was, that his ill state of health prevented his paying due attention to the care of his flock. He had been

fortunate enough, however, never to labour under any illness.

The see of Frejus, lying in a disagreeable country, at a distance from court, had always displeased him. He used to say, that the moment he saw his wife, he was disgusted at his marriage; and subscribes a letter of pleasantry to cardinal Quirini, *Fleury, by the divine indignation, bishop of Frejus.*

He resigned his bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. Marshal de Villeroy, after many solicitations, prevailed upon Louis XIV. to appoint the bishop of Frejus preceptor to his grandson, in the codicil of his will. The new preceptor expresses himself nevertheless, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, in the following terms:

“ I have more than once regretted the want
 “ of the solitude of Frejus. On my arrival
 “ here, I heard the king was at the point of
 “ death, and that he had done me the honour
 “ to appoint me preceptor to his grandson.
 “ Had his majesty been in a situation to have
 “ given me audience, I should have entreated
 “ him to spare me the weight of a burthen
 “ I tremble to bear. But after his death I
 “ could not be heard: I am weary of it, and
 “ find no consolation for the loss of my li-
 “ berty.”

He

He found comfort in forming the mind of his royal pupil insensibly for business, and the duties of his elevated station ; preserving, amidst all the agitations of the court during the minority, the good-will of the regent, and the esteem of the public. He sought no occasion to display his consequence ; made no complaints of others ; laid himself open to no refusals, nor entered into any of their intrigues. But while he secretly informed himself, as well of the internal administration of the kingdom as its foreign politics, he gave rise, by his circumspect conduct and amiable temper, to an universal wish among the people to see him at the head of affairs. This was the second preceptor that governed France, although he contented himself with being absolute, without assuming the title of prime-minister.

His whole ministry was less opposed and less envied than those of Richelieu and Mazarin, even in the most peaceable times of their administration. His promotion made no manner of change in his behaviour. It was indeed astonishing to see the first minister the most amiable and disinterested person about the court. The welfare of the nation had long since required his spirit of peace and moderation ; it depended on those pacific measures he naturally approved ; so that the foreign

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ministers

ministers were firmly persuaded no rupture would happen in his time.

He quietly left the kingdom to repair its former losses, and enrich itself by an immense trade, without making any innovations; treating the state like a strong and robust body, which recovers by the strength of its own constitution*.

Political affairs returned insensibly to their natural channel. Happily for Europe, the first minister in England, Robert Walpole, was of a most peaceable character; and contributed with him to maintain that repose, which almost all Europe enjoyed from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733;—a repose that was disturbed but once by the transitory hostilities of the year 1718. This was an happy interval for all the European nations; who, cultivating arts and commerce with emulation, soon forgot all their past calamities.

During this interval, there arose two powers, unknown in Europe before the present century.

* In some foreign books, I find cardinal de Fleury mistaken for ablé Fleury, author of the History of the Church, and of those excellent sermons, which so far surpass that history: This abbé Fleury was confessor to Louis XV. But he lived at court unknown, and in obscurity. He was possessed of native modesty; the other Fleury had the modesty of a skilful statesman.

The

The first was that of Russia, which had just emerged from barbarism under Peter the great. This power consisted only, before his time, of immense deserts, and of a people without laws, without discipline, and without knowledge, like the Tartars. It was indeed so little known to France, that when Louis XIV. received the Muscovite ambassador, in the year 1668, that event was celebrated by the publication of a medal, in the same manner as was that of the embassy of the Siamese.

This new empire began to have an influence over all political affairs, and even to give laws to the North, after having humbled the power of Sweden.

The second power, established by the force of art, on less extensive foundations, was, that of Prussia; whose forces had been long preparing, but had not yet been displayed.

The house of Austria was nearly in the same situation as that in which the peace of Utrecht had left it. England preserved its power at sea, while Holland had suffered hers to go to decline. The latter, powerful only by the less industry of other nations, fell to decay, because her neighbours carried on that trade themselves of which she had been mistress. Sweden was in a languishing state. Denmark flourished; and Spain and Portugal subsisted.

on their returns from America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many different states as it had been at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, become now the patrimony of Austria.

Savoy exhibited at this time a remarkable example to the world, and an interesting lesson to sovereigns. Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, the same who had been sometimes the ally, and at others, the enemy of France and of Austria; and whose inconstancy had passed for policy, tired of business and of himself, in the year 1730, at the age of sixty-four, capriciously abdicated his crown, though the first of his family that had worn it; of which abdication he as capriciously repented a year afterwards. The society of a mistress, now become his wife, devotion and idleness could not satisfy a mind that had been for fifty years past engaged in the affairs of Europe. He displayed fully the weakness of human nature, and how difficult it is to gratify the heart either with or without a throne.

No less than four sovereigns have in this age abdicated their thrones; Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. resumed the government against his inclination. Casimir never thought of it. Christina

stina was inclined to it for some time, on account of some affront she had suffered at Rome. Amadeus alone took a resolution to remount by force, that throne which his disquiet had occasioned him to quit. The consequence of this resolution and attempt is well known. His son, Charles-Emanuel, would have acquired a glory far above that of kings, in restoring to his father the crown he received at his hands, if it had been his request alone, and if the circumstances of the times had permitted; but it was said that an ambitious mistress was desirous of reigning; so that, to prevent the fatal consequences, the whole council were compelled to cause the very man to be arrested who had been their sovereign. He died soon after in prison. It is false, that the court of France would have sent twenty thousand men, to protect the father against the son, as was reported in the memoirs of those times. Neither the abdication of this king, his attempt to regain the sceptre, his imprisonment, nor his death, caused the least emotion in the neighbouring nations. It was a terrible event attended with no consequences. A general peace prevailed even from Russia to Spain, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, elector of Saxony, replunged Europe in those dissensions and misfortunes from which it is seldom exempted.

CHAP. IV.

STANISLAUS LESKINSKI, twice King of POLAND, and dethroned.—The War of 1734; and the Re-union of LORRAIN to FRANCE.

KING Stanislaus, brother-in-law to Louis XV. nominated to the throne of Poland in 1704, was chosen king in 1733, in the most legal and solemn manner. The emperor Charles VI. however, assisted by the Russians, caused the Poles to proceed to a new election. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried the election against his opponent. Thus the house of Austria, which wanted the power to keep Spain and the West-Indies, and even to establish a trading company at Ostend, had the credit of depriving the brother-in-law of Louis XV. of the crown of Poland; a circumstance similar to what had happened to the prince de Conti, who was in like manner solemnly elected; but, having neither money nor troops, and being better recommended than supported, was compelled

to abandon the throne to which he had been invited.

King Stanislaus went to Dantzick, in order to support his election. But the majority which had chosen him, presently yielded to the minority that opposed him. This country, in which the people are slaves; in which the nobility meanly sell their votes; in which there is no money in the public treasury to support an army; in which the laws are without force, and in which liberty only produces divisions; this country, I say, vainly boasts a warlike nobility, who can bring an hundred thousand cavalry into the field.

The numerous body of them, that appeared in favour of Stanislaus, vanished at the sight of ten thousand Russians. The whole Polish nation, which had, an age before, looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Russia was become formidable since it had been new modelled by Peter the great. Ten thousand disciplined Russian slaves dispersed all the nobility of Poland; while king Stanislaus, shut up in the city of Dantzick, was besieged by an army of the same nation.

The emperor of Germany, in alliance with the Russians, was confident of success. To have made the balance equal, France should
have

have transported a numerous army by sea, to the support of Stanislaus; but England would not have silently looked on, had she made such preparations. Cardinal de Fleury, who then managed the English, fought to avoid both the disgrace of entirely abandoning king Stanislaus, and the hazard of sending a great body of troops to his relief. He sent him, therefore,

little squadron of transports, with about fifteen hundred men under the command of a brigadier. This officer could not conceive his commission serious; but thinking, when he approached Dantzick that he should only make a fruitless sacrifice of his soldiers, returned and put into Denmark. Count de Plelo, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, looked with indignation upon this retreat, which he considered as humiliating to his nation. He was a young man, who, with the study of philosophy, and the belles-lettres, had united heroic sentiments worthy of a better fortune.

He resolved to succour Dantzick with this little troop, or perish in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to one of the secretaries of state; which ended thus: "I am
" certain I shall never return: I recommend
" to you my wife and children."

He arrived in the road of Dantzick, disembarked and attacked the Russian army; in
which

which enterprize he fell, as he had foreseen. His letter arrived with the news of his death.

Dantzick was taken, and the French ambassador at the court of Poland made prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privileges of his character. Even king Stanislaus saw a price set on his own head by count Munich, the Russian general, in the city of Dantzick, in a free country, in his native land, in the midst of a nation who had elected him to the throne under all the forms of legal solemnity. He was obliged to disguise himself in the habit of a sailor, and escaped with great difficulty and danger from the hands of the enemy.

It is remarkable that this same count Munich, who so cruelly persecuted Stanislaus, was sometime after banished to Siberia, where he resided twenty years in extreme indigence, to make his appearance at court afterwards with the greater eclat.—Such are the vicissitudes of human greatness !

With regard to the fifteen hundred Frenchmen, who had been so imprudently sent against an army of Russians, they made an honourable capitulation : But a Russian ship being soon after taken by a French man of war, they were sent to Petersburg and detained prisoners.

They might reasonably expect to be treated with inhumanity, among a people who had
been

been looked upon as barbarians no longer ago than the beginning of the present century. But the empress Anne was then upon the throne ; who treated the officers as if they had been so many ambassadors, and ordered clothes and refreshments to be given to the soldiers. This generosity, unknown till then, was at once the effect of that prodigious change which the Czar Peter had brought about in the Russian court, and a kind of noble resentment, which that court thought fit to shew of those disadvantageous ideas, which nations, from ancient prejudices, still entertained of the Russians.

The French government would have entirely forfeited the reputation necessary to the support of its own dignity, had it failed to have resented the outrage it had thus suffered in Poland. But the exertion of this resentment would have been nothing, if not of public service. The distance would not permit of its being directed against the Muscovites ; and policy directed it to fall on the emperor. It was indeed very effectually exerted in Germany and Italy, where the powers of France joined with those of Spain and Sardinia. These three potentates had their several interests ; all concurring, however, to the same point,—the weakening of the house of Austria.

The

The dukes of Savoy had, for a long time, been gradually extending their dominions; sometimes by affording succours to the emperors, and at others, by declaring against them. King Charles-Emanuel had entertained hopes of getting the Milanese; which was promised him by the ministers of Versailles and Madrid.

Philip the fifth of Spain, or rather his queen, Elizabeth of Parma, desired also a more considerable settlement for her children than that of Parma and Placentia. As to the king of France, he had no other view than his own glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the success of his allies.

It was not at that time foreseen that Lorrain would be the prize of that war. Mankind in general are rather directed by events, than events directed by them. Never was there a treaty more expeditiously concluded than that which united these three potentates.

England and Holland, long accustomed to declare for Austria against France, abandoned her on this occasion. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation which the French court had at that time acquired.

An opinion of its pacific and disinterested views, quieted its natural enemies, even while

it was in the midst of a war; and nothing did greater honour to the French ministry, than its retaining such a degree of credit, as to persuade those powers, that France might carry on a war against the Emperor without endangering the liberty of Europe.—All other potentates looked with unconcern on the rapid success of the French arms.—A French army were masters of the field upon the Rhine; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, were masters of Italy, where marshal Villars, who had been declared generalissimo of the French, Spanish and Piedmontese troops ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-four, soon after he had taken Milan.—Marshal Coigni, his successor, gained two battles, while the duke of Montemar, the Spanish general, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, at the town of Bytonto, from which he took a new surname.—Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuscany, was presently made king of Naples and Sicily.—Thus the Emperor lost almost every thing he had in Italy, for having given a king to Poland, and a son of the king of Spain, in two campaigns, acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which had so often been taken and retaken, and which the house of Austria had,
for

for more than two centuries, made the constant object of her pretensions.

This war in Italy is the only one that terminated with any real success to the French, since the time of Charlemagne. The reason of it was, they acted in conjunction with the guardian of the Alps, who was become a most powerful prince of those countries. They were besides assisted by the best troops belonging to the crown of Spain, and their armies were always plentifully supplied with provision.

The Emperor thought himself happy to receive those conditions of peace which the conquerors were now pleased to grant him. Cardinal Fleury, the French minister, whose policy had prevented England and Holland from taking part in this war, had also the address to conclude an advantageous peace, without their intervention.

By this peace, don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe being already accustomed to see kingdoms made the object of gift and exchange,—to the Emperor's son-in-law, Francis, duke of Lorraine, was assigned the inheritance of the house of Medicis, which had been before granted to don Carlos.

On this occasion, the last grand duke of Tuscany, being near his end, asked if they
would

would not give him a third heir, and what other new child the Empire and France intended to beget him: Not that the grand dutchy of Tuscany considered itself as a fief of the empire, but the emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always re-claimed by the holy see, and for which the last duke of Parma had actually done homage to the pope:—So vary the rights of princes with the times! By this peace also, the dutchy of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to don Carlos, son of Philip the fifth, and a princess of Parma, were granted in full property to the emperor Charles VI. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had fixed his eye on the Milanese, to which his family, aggrandized by degrees, had some old pretensions, obtained only those small parts of it, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes. His pretensions to the Milanese were founded on his descent from a daughter to Philip the second, king of Spain.—France had also her ancient pretensions derived from Louis the twelfth, the natural heir to this dutchy.—Philip the fifth had likewise his claims founded on the infeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain, his predecessors. All these pretensions, however, gave way to convenience and the public good. The Emperor kept

kept possession of the Milanese, that not being a fief, of which like others he ought always to bestow an investiture. This was originally the kingdom of Lombardy, afterwards annexed to the empire; it at length became a fief under its viscounts, and is at present a state belonging to the emperor.—A state dismembered indeed, but which, in conjunction with Tuscany and Mantua, render the imperial family still very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty, king Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, which he twice ascended without being able to maintain it. He retained indeed the title of royalty, but wanted another kind of indemnification, and that for the sake of France more than for himself.—Cardinal de Fleury contented himself at first with the dutchy of Barr, which the duke of Lorraine was to yield to Stanislaus with the reversion to the crown of France; although Lorraine was not to be ceded till the duke was put in possession of Tuscany. This was subjecting the cession of Lorraine to many accidents, and profiting very little by the most signal success, and favourable conjunctures. Chauvelin, keeper of the seals, encouraged cardinal de Fleury to make a better use of his opportunity: he accordingly demanded Lorraine on the same conditions as the dutchy of Barr,

Barr, and obtained it. It cost him only some ready money, and a pension of three millions five hundred thousand livres to duke Francis, 'till such time as Tuscany should devolve to him.

Thus was Lorrain irrevocably re-united to the crown; a re-union which had been often attempted in vain. By this event, a Polish king was transplanted into Lorrain, and that province was rendered happy in becoming, for the last time, the residence of a sovereign prince. The reigning house of the princes of Lorrain, was now invested with the supreme power in Tuscany. And the second son of the king of Spain was raised to the throne of the Two Sicilies. The motto on the medal of Trajan, *Regna assignata*, *Kingdoms given away*, was indeed very applicable to this period.

A profound peace prevailed among the Christian potentates, if we except the growing disputes between Spain and England concerning the trade of America. The court of France continued to be regarded as the arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, about this time, declared war against the Turks, without consulting the empire: in this war he was unfortunate; but was extricated from it by the mediation of Louis XV. In 1739, M. de Villeneuve, the
French

French ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, went into Hungary, to conclude with the Grand Vizir that peace, of which the emperor stood so much in need.

About the same time, the French quieted the Genoese, who were on the point of a civil war: they likewise appeased the Corsicans who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The same ministry also put a stop to a civil war which had begun within the walls of Geneva.

But, above all, the king interposed his good offices between Spain and England, who had commenced a maritime war, which was likely to be more ruinous to both nations, than the rights for which they disputed could be advantageous to either. The same court had also employed its mediation in 1735, between Spain and Portugal: in short, none of the neighbouring nations had reason to complain of France, whom they considered as their mediatrix, and common mother. This glory and happiness were of short duration.

CHAP. V.

The Death of the Emperor CHARLES VI.

The Succession of the House of AUSTRIA disputed by four Potentates. The Queen of HUNGARY acknowledged in her Father's Dominions. SILESIA taken by the King of PRUSSIA.

THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October 1740, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. If the death of Augustus II. king of Poland had occasioned such great commotions, that of Charles VI. the last prince of the house of Austria, could not fail of producing many other revolutions. It seemed necessary to divide the hereditary dominions of that house, which consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, both electoral kingdoms, but rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes. They consisted of Austrian Suabia, called Anterior Austria; Higher and Lower Austria, conquered in the 13th century; Stiria, Carinthia, Carniole, Flanders, Burgaw, the four Forest Towns, Brisgau, Frioul, Triol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the dutchy of Parma.

In

In regard to Naples and Sicily, those two kingdoms were already in the hands of Don Carlos, son of Philip V. king of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her pretensions to her father's dominions, on the right of nature, on a pragmatic sanction, which had confirmed that right, and on the guarantee of almost all the powers of Europe. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, claimed the succession on the strength of a will made by Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V.

Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, alleged a more recent pretension, pleading the claim of his wife, as eldest daughter of Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain founded his right to all the possessions of the Austrian family, on his being descended from the consort of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II.

Lewis XV. might also have laid claim to the succession, with as great a right as any of them, as he was descended in a direct line from the oldest male branch to the house of Austria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and also by the wife of Lewis XIV. but it was more agreeable to him to remain arbitrator and protector, than to appear as a competitor ; because he could, in concert with one half of Europe, decide both

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the succession, and the empire ; but had he declared himself a competitor, all Europe would have been in arms against him. This cause, in which so many crowned heads were concerned, was pleaded in all the courts of Christendom by manifestoes and memorials, and not only princes but even private persons interested themselves in it ; nothing was expected but a general war. The politicians, however, were greatly confounded to find the storm burst where it was least expected.

A new kingdom had been established at the beginning of this century ; the emperor Leopold, according to the custom of his predecessors, claimed the privilege of creating kings ; in consequence of which, in the year 1701, he had erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was, at that time, no better than an extensive desert ; but Frederic William II. who was the second king of that country, being possessed of talents superior to those of his cotemporaries, expended about twenty-five millions of livres, in clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling them : he invited families from Suabia and Franconia ; and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltzburg to settle in his territories, furnishing them with necessaries of all sorts. While he was thus
bused

busied in establishing a new kingdom; by singular oeconomy, he became master of another species of power; every month he laid up in reserve 40,000 German crowns, which in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense sum of money. What money was not sent to the treasury, was employed in raising an army of seventy thousand choice men, whom he disciplined himself, but never employed. But his son Frederic III. took the advantage of those preparations of his father. He foresaw the general confusion of the empire, and did not fail to reap the benefit of it. He laid claim to four dutchies in Silesia. His forefathers had repeatedly renounced their pretensions, because they were unable to support them; he found himself sufficiently strong to maintain his claim.

France, Spain, Bavaria and Saxony were already interested in the choice of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria pressed the French ministry to procure him at least some part of the Austrian succession. In his memorials he laid claim to the whole, but he dared not demand so much by his ministers. In the mean time, Maria Theresa, who had married Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which her father had bequeathed to her. She received the homage of

the states of Austria at Vienna on the seventh of November 1740. The provinces of Italy and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies; but above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians by taking the antient oath which king Andrew II. made in the year 1222.

“ If I, or any of my successors, shall, at any
 “ time, infringe upon your privileges; by virtue of this promise, you, and your descendants, shall be allowed to defend yourselves,
 “ and shall not be treated as rebels.”

As the ancestors of the archduchess queen had always been backward in executing such engagements, her taking the prudent step already mentioned, greatly endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had always been inclined to throw off the Austrian yoke, after two hundred years spent in sedition, broils and civil wars, submitted at once to the government of Maria Theresa, whom they almost adored. Although the queen was not crowned at Presburg until the 24th of June 1741, during the interval she was not less a sovereign; she was possessed of a popular affability which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, and which gained her the hearts of her subjects; she laid aside that ceremony and haughtiness, which render the access to a throne disagreeable,

able, without making it more respectable. The archduchess, her aunt, who governed the Low Countries, had never condescended to eat with any of her subjects; on the contrary, Maria Theresa admitted to her table all the ladies and officers of distinction; she conversed freely with the deputies of the states; and as she never refused to grant an audience, so she contrived that nobody should leave her discontented.

Her first care was to insure to her husband the grand duke of Tuscany, a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent, which she did without diminishing her own sovereign power, and without infringing the pragmatic sanction; she flattered herself from the beginning, that the dignities she conferred on that prince would soon raise him to the imperial crown; but she forgot that she had no money, and that her troops were very much diminished and dispersed through her extensive dominions.

The king of Prussia made proposals to her to yield up the Lower Silesia, and in return for that territory, he offered her the assistance of his army, and five million of livres, to guarantee the rest of her possessions, and to place her husband on the throne of the empire. It was foreseen by the most able politicians, that should the queen of Hungary refuse these offers, all

Germany would be thrown into confusion; but the blood of so many emperors which flowed in her veins, would not allow her to think of relinquishing any part of her hereditary estates; although she was weak, she was undaunted. The king of Prussia looking upon her power to be merely nominal, and considering that from the appearance of affairs, he might soon expect to have allies, marched with his army into Silesia, in the middle of December 1740.

It was proposed to adorn his standard with a device, *Pro Deo et Patria*; but he erased *Pro Deo*, saying, that it would be very improper to confound the name of GOD with the quarrels of men, and that he was going to war for a province, and not for religion. He then ordered the Roman eagle, displayed *in relieve*, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards; this novelty of course insinuated the necessity of its being invincible. When he harangued his army, he advised them, in every thing, to imitate the antient Romans. Having entered Silesia, he, in a short time, subdued almost the whole of that province, of which he had so lately been refused a part; but still nothing decisive happened. General Neuperg came soon after to the succour of this province, with a body of Austrians to the amount of twenty-four thousand, and forced the king
of

of Prussia to engage with him at Molwitz, near the river Neiß.

On this occasion, the superiority of the Prussian infantry became conspicuous; the cavalry was entirely routed by double the number of Austrian horse, and the first line of infantry attacked in flank when the battle seemed to be irrecoverably lost; all the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himself in danger of being made prisoner, was conducted by his attendants to some distance from the field of battle. In the mean time, the second line of infantry stood immoveable, and recovered every thing by observing that discipline to which the Prussian soldiers are accustomed; their continual firing, discharging at least five times in a minute, and by loading their guns with iron ramrods in an instant. Thus a victory was gained, which became the signal for a general war in Europe.

CHAP. VI.

The King of FRANCE unites with the Kings of PRUSSIA and POLAND, to raise CHARLES ALBERT, Elector of BAVARIA, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared Lieutenant-General to the King of FRANCE. His Election, Successes, and rapid Defeats.

ALL the powers of Europe believed that when the king of Prussia took Silesia, he was allied to France : they were mistaken ; but such mistakes frequently happen, when people build their opinions upon probabilities. The king of Prussia run a great risk, as he himself confessed ; but he could foresee that the French would not slip so favourable an opportunity of seconding his enterprize. The French interest seemed to oppose the succession of the house of Austria, and to favour their old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost his all in their service, in consequence of the battle of Hochstedt. The same elector, Charles Albert, had been imprisoned in his infancy by the Austrians, who had stripped him of every thing, except his title of Bavaria.

varia. France found it for her advantage to revenge his cause ; it appeared easy to procure him at once, both the empire, and part of the Austrian succession : by these means the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the former house always assumed over the other potentates of Europe ; the ancient rivalry subsisting between the houses of Bourbon and Austria would be extinguished, and more might be done than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu, could ever have expected.

When Frederic III. marched into Silesia, he foresaw this revolution, the foundation of which was not then laid. It is so true, that he had not concerted any measure with cardinal Fleury ; that the marquis de Beauveau, the French ambassador at Berlin, who was sent to compliment the new monarch on his accession, did not know, when he first saw the Prussian troops in motion, whether they were destined against France or Austria. His Prussian majesty said to him at parting : “ I imagine I am going to “ play your game—if I throw aces, you must “ go halves *.”

This was only the beginning of a negotiation, as yet at a great distance. The French

* The author was at this period along with the king of Prussia ; and can take upon him to say, the cardinal was ignorant what a prince he had to deal with.

ministry hesitated a long time, and cardinal Fleury, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was unwilling to expose his reputation, his old age, and the French nation to the hazard of a new war. Besides, he thought himself restrained by the pragmatic sanction, which had been signed and authenticated.

The count, since marshal duke de Belleisle, and his brother, who were grandsons of the famous Fouquet, without having any influence in the public affairs, nor as yet any access to the king, and although they had no interest with cardinal Fleury, brought the ministry to resolve on this enterprize.

The marshal de Belleisle had a great reputation, without having signalized himself. Although he had neither been minister nor general, yet he passed for a man who was very capable of managing a state, or commanding an army; but a bad state of health frequently prevented him from reaping the fruits of his great talents. Always in action, and full of schemes; his body became a victim to the efforts of his mind; in him, the politeness of an amiable courtier, and the open frankness of the soldier were equally admired; he could persuade without eloquence, because he always seemed to be master of his subject.

His

His brother, the chevalier de Belleisle, had the same ambition, the same views, but his plans were better digested, because a more robust constitution permitted him to be indefatigable in business. His gloomy aspect was not so engaging; but he conquered, when his brother could only reason. His eloquence resembled his courage, under a cold, musing air, something impetuous was discernable. In a word, he was equally capable of designing, arranging and executing every thing he took in hand.

These two men, who were more strictly united by the conformity of their ideas, than by the natural ties of consanguinity, undertook to change the face of affairs in Europe; in this grand design they were assisted by a lady of uncommon talents. The cardinal opposed their enterprise even so far as to write a letter to the king upon the subject, wherein he advised him against entering into their measures. It was now expected that the prelate would resign his office, which he might have done with honour, after so long and successful an administration; but he had not sufficient resolution to retire from the world; and although on the verge of the grave, he could not think of spending the remainder of his days in solitude, while marshal de Belleisle and his brother

ther had the disposal of every thing : thus the old cardinal remained at the head of an enterprize which he disapproved.

Every thing seemed favourable at first.— Marshal de Belleisle was dispatched to Francfort, to the Prussian camp, and to Dresden, with a view of concerting those vast projects, which, by the concurrence of so many princes, appeared to promise infallible success. He agreed entirely with the measures of the king of Prussia, and those of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. He negotiated in every part of Germany; he was the soul of that party which was about to bestow the empire and hereditary crowns upon a prince, who could do nothing without their assistance. France furnished the elector of Bavaria at once with money, allies, suffrages, and troops. When the king of France sent him the army which he had promised, he issued letters-patent, * creating him, whom he had destined to be emperor of Germany, lieutenant-general of his forces.

The elector of Bavaria being strengthened by so many supplies, entered Austria without opposition, at a time when Maria Theresa was

* Those letters were not signed till the 20th of August 1741.

at a loss to defend herself against the Prussians. He immediately became master of the imperial city of Passau, which belonged to its own bishop, and separated Upper Austria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria. From thence several small detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna : this spread the alarm, and they prepared with expedition to support a siege ; one of the suburbs was almost totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications ; and the Danube was covered with numbers of boats, which conveyed the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater safety. The elector of Bavaria proceeded so far as to send a summons of surrender to count Knevenhuller, who was then governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were, at this period, far from holding that balance which they had so long pretended to be in their hands ; the states-general remained quiet when they saw the army under marshal de Maillebois in Westphalia ; and the same army imposed silence on the king of England, at that time in Hanover, who was in pain for his electoral dominions ; he had raised twenty-five thousand men to assist Maria Theresa ; but was under the necessity
of

of abandoning her at the head of his army, and of signing a treaty of neutrality.

There was then no power either in the empire or elsewhere, who supported the pragmatic sanction, which had been guaranteed by so many states. Vienna, badly fortified on that side which would most probably be attacked, could make but a feeble resistance; and those who were best acquainted with Germany, and public affairs, already looked upon Vienna as taken;—the road blocked up against the Hungarians on that side;—open on every other to the victorious armies;—all pretensions regulated, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe.

In proportion as the ruin of Maria Theresa seemed inevitable, that princess assumed fresh courage; she had quitted Vienna, and had thrown herself into the arms of those Hungarians, who had been treated with so much severity by her father and ancestors. Having called an assembly of the four orders of the state, she appeared there, holding in her arms her eldest son, who had hardly left his cradle, and addressing them in Latin, in which language she expressed herself very well; she spoke to the following purport: “Abandoned by my
“ friends; persecuted by my enemies; at-
“ tacked by my nearest relations, I have no
“ other

“ other resource but in your fidelity and valour,
“ and in my own perseverance ; I deliver into
“ your hands the daughter and son of your
“ kings, whose safety depends on your con-
“ duct.” Sensibly affected and animated by
these words, the Hungarians drew their sabres,
and cried with one voice, *Moriamur pro nostro*
rege Maria Theresia, We will die for our king
Maria Theresa. They always give the title
of king to their queen ; in fact, no princess
ever better deserved that title. While they
were protesting their readiness to lay down
their lives in her defence, she was the only
person who refrained from tears ; but after she
had retired with her maids of honour, she gave
a full vent to those tears which the firmness of
her temper had made her restrain. At that
time she was pregnant, and not long before had
written to her mother-in-law, the dutchess of
Lorrain : “ That she did not know whether
“ the enemy would leave her a single town,
“ in which she might be brought to-bed.”

In this situation, she excited the zeal of her
Hungarians ; re-animated England and Hol-
land, already disposed to assist her ; these sup-
plied her with money ; she exerted all her in-
fluence in the empire, and carried on a nego-
ciation with the king of Sardinia, whose pro-
vinces furnished her with soldiers.

The

The whole English nation interested themselves in her favour;—they are a people who do not wait for the opinion of their master to form their own. Several private persons proposed sending a free-gift to that princess; among these, the dutchess of Marlborough, widow of the duke of that name, who fought for Charles VI. assembled together the principal ladies in London, who agreed to raise one hundred thousand pounds sterling, towards which sum the dutchess deposited forty thousand pounds. The queen of Hungary had the magnanimity to refuse the money which was thus generously offered to her;—she would accept of none, but what she expected from the nation assembled in parliament.

It was generally imagined that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would immediately lay siege to Vienna. In war, it is a maxim to do that which the enemy most dreads. This was one of those decisive blows, one of those opportunities presented by fortune, which, if missed, cannot be recalled. The elector of Bavaria had conceived hopes of taking Vienna, but he was not prepared for a siege, having neither heavy cannon nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to give him that capital; he was satisfied with smaller acquisitions; he would have been
glad

glad to divide the spoils before they were acquired ; for he did not mean that the emperor, whom he elevated to that dignity, should enjoy all the succession.

In the month of November 1741, the French army, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, being reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague. Count Maurice de Saxe, natural brother of the king of Poland, attacked the place. This General inherited his father's peculiar strength of body, together with the mildness of his temper, and equal courage ; but he possessed much superior talents for war. His reputation was so great, that the inhabitants had, with one voice, elected him duke of Courland ; but the Russians, who gave laws to the North, had deprived him of that dignity, which the suffrage of a whole people had granted to his merit ; he comforted himself, however, for his loss, in the service of France, and in the agreeable society of that nation, which, as yet, was a stranger to his many great qualifications.

It was necessary to take Prague in a few days, or abandon the enterprize ; he was short of supplies, and the season was far advanced ; and yet though that city was but indifferently fortified, it could easily withstand the first attacks. General Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth,

birth, who commanded the place, had three thousand men in his garrison; and the Grand Duke, at the head of thirty thousand men, was in full march to relieve him. On the 25th of November he advanced within five leagues of city, which was assaulted that very night by the French and Saxons.

They made two attacks with their artillery, which made a terrible noise, and quickly brought all the garrison to that side of the town; in the mean time, count Saxe, with the most profound silence, caused a single ladder to be fixed on the ramparts of the new town, at a considerable distance from the part attacked. M. Chevert, who was then a lieutenant-colonel, mounted first; the eldest son of marshal Broglio followed him: on the ramparts, they found but one centinel near them; they were soon followed by multitudes, and made themselves masters of the city, when the garrison laid down their arms. General Ogilvie, and his three thousand men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the city from being plundered; and, what is remarkable, during the first three days, the conquerors and conquered mixed promiscuously together; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, could not be distinguished one from another; and all this confusion ended without bloodshed.

The

The elector of Bavaria, then just arrived, sent an account of this success to the king, in the stile of a General, who writes to him, whose army he commands. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia, on the very day it was taken, and caused himself to be crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the Grand Duke, who could not save that capital, and who could not subsist in its environs, retired to the south-east parts of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother, prince Charles of Lorraine.

About the same time, the king of Prussia reduced Moravia, a province situated between Bohemia and Silesia: in this manner, Maria Theresa seemed to be overpowered in every quarter. Her competitor had already been crowned archduke of Austria at Lintz; he had assumed the crown of Bohemia at Prague, and from thence was gone to Francfort, to be raised to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles VII.

Marshal Belleisle followed him from Prague to Francfort, and appeared rather as an elector of the first rank, than as an ambassador from France. He had gained all the votes, and directed all the negociations; he therefore received all the honours due to the representative

of a king, who could confer an imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presided at the election, gave him the right-hand in his own palace, and the ambassador, in his own hotel, gave the right hand to none but electors, taking the precedence of all other princes. His credentials were written in the French language, though the German chancery had hitherto required that such papers should be presented in Latin; that being the proper language for a government which assumes the name of the Roman empire. On the 4th of January 1741, Charles Albert was solemnly elected emperor without any disturbance; he now seemed to have the prospect of a glorious and happy reign; but fortune changed, and his elevation soon occasioned him to be one of the most unfortunate princes in the world.

CHAP. VII.

The rapid Disasters which followed the Successes of the Emperor CHARLES ALBERT of BAVARIA.

THE French and Bavarians began very soon to be sensible of the fault they had committed, in neglecting to provide a sufficient body of cavalry. Marshal Belleisle, who was sick at Francfort, wanted at once to conduct negociations, and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding prevailed among the allied powers, the Saxons complained of the Prussians, while the latter found fault with the French, who, in return, complained as much of them. In the mean time, Maria Theresa supported herself with great resolution; she received remittances of money from England, Holland and Venice, and loans from Flanders: she formed also the most flattering hopes from the desperate ardor of her troops, which were now brought together from all quarters. On the contrary, the French army, being commanded by unexperienced officers, was daily diminished by fatigues, sickness, and desertion, while their recruits

came

came in but slowly. It was not like the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who began his campaigns in Germany with less than ten thousand men, but soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand, augmenting his troops on the spot, in proportion to his conquests. Every day weakened the French conquerors, and added strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia with thirty-five thousand men: all the inhabitants were on his side; and he began to make a defensive war with success, by keeping the enemy continually under alarms, by cutting off their convoys, and by harrassing them on all sides with clouds of Hussars, Croats, Pandors, and Talpaches. The *Pandors* are Slavonians, who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save; they wear a long cloak, and carry several pistols in their girdle; they likewise use a sabre and poniard. The *Talpaches* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a gun, two pistols, and a sword. The *Croats* are the militia of Croatia; and the *Hussars* are Hungarian horsemen, mounted on small horses, which are, however, swift and indefatigable; they disperse the infantry when distributed in too many posts, and unprovided with cavalry. The French and Bavarians were every where in this situation. The emperor

peror Charles VII. wanted to keep possession of an extensive territory, by means of a handful of people, because he thought the queen of Hungary was not in a condition to retake it; he was deceived; for all was recovered, and the war carried from the Danube to the Rhine.

When cardinal Fleury saw his expectations baffled, and so many disasters follow the first successes, he wrote a letter to general Konigseg, the queen of Hungary's minister, which he ordered marshal Belleisle himself to deliver. In this letter, he excused himself from having any share in undertaking the war, and affirmed, that he had been led beyond his own measures. "It is well known, says he, that I have strenuously opposed the resolutions that have been taken; and that I have been, in a manner, forced to comply with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passes, not to guess who is the person that employed every method to determine the king to enter into a league, so contrary to my inclination and principles."

Instead of an answer, the queen of Hungary caused the cardinal's letter to be printed; it is easily seen what bad effects this letter would produce; in the first place, it evidently laid the whole blame of the war upon the General employed to negotiate with count Konigseg, and,

and, instead of forwarding the negotiation, only tended to make his person odious : in the second place, it laid open the weakness of the ministry, and it shewed but little knowledge of mankind, not to foresee that they would take the advantage of that weakness ; that the allies of France would thereby be disheartened, while its enemies gained fresh courage. The cardinal seeing his letter printed, wrote a second to the Austrian general, complaining of his having published the first, and telling him, “ That for the future he would not write to “ him his real sentiments.” This second letter did still more mischief than the first. He next disowned both the letters in some of the public papers ; but as he could not, by these means, impose upon any body, so his disowning the letters only served as a finishing stroke to his blunders, which good-natured people excused in a man tired out with bad success, and in the eighty-seventh year of his age. In fine ; the Bavarian emperor sent proposals to London for a peace, backed with offers for secularising some bishoprics in favour of Hanover. The English ministry imagined they could accomplish this without the assistance of the Emperor, and only insulted his proposals by making them public ; which reduced the Emperor to the necessity

necessity of disavowing his offers of peace, as cardinal Fleury had disavowed the war.

The contest then grew warmer than ever : France on one side, and England on the other ; principals in fact, though under the name of auxiliaries, endeavoured to keep the balance by force of arms :—thus was the house of Bourbon obliged, for the second time, to engage in a war against almost all Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, being too much advanced in years to sustain so heavy a burthen, lavished, with regret, the treasures of France, in a war undertaken against his inclination, and saw nothing but misfortunes occasioned by misconduct. He never thought that a marine power was necessary, 'till the remains of the French fleet were absolutely destroyed by the English, and the maritime provinces were entirely exposed. The Emperor, whom France had made, was chased three times from his own dominions.

In Bohemia and Bavaria, the French troops were routed without fighting one general battle ; and their affairs were come to such a pass, that a retreat, which appeared impracticable, was looked upon as a singular piece of good fortune. Marshal Belleisle saved the remnants of the French army, who were besieged in Prague, by conducting thirteen thousand men

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from

from thence to Egra, through a bye-road of thirty-eight leagues, covered with ice, and in sight of the enemy. In fine; the war was removed from the heart of Austria, to the banks of the Rhine.

In the midst of these misfortunes, cardinal Fleury died in the village of Issi, leaving the affairs of the war, the marine, the finances, and politics in general, in a critical situation; which might indeed lessen the glory of his ministry, but could not diminish the tranquility of his mind.

Louis XV. then took the resolution to be his own minister, and to put himself at the head of an army. He found himself in the same situation in which his great grand-father had been involved; engaged in a war, called like this, the war of succession.

He had France and Spain to support against the same enemies, that is, against Austria, England, Holland and Savoy. In order to form a just idea of the embarrassments which the king experienced, of the dangers to which he was exposed, and of the resources he possessed, we must take notice in what manner England gave motion to all the disturbances of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conduct of ENGLAND. The Transactions of the Prince of CONTI in ITALY.

AFTER the happy æra of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who occupied Minorca and Gibraltar in Spain, obtained several privileges from the court of Madrid, which the French, its defenders, did not enjoy. The English merchants purchased negroes on the coast of Africa, and disposed of them to the Spanish colonies in America. This traffic of men, which brought to the Spanish government thirty-three piastres for every slave, was a considerable object of gain to the English company; because, in furnishing four thousand eight hundred negroes, they obtained leave to sell the eight hundred without paying any duty; but the greatest advantage granted to the English, exclusive of other nations, was the permission which the company enjoyed from 1716, to send a vessel to Porto-Bello. This vessel, which at first was restrained to five hundred tons, was, by agreement, allowed to carry eight hundred and fifty in 1717; but, in fact, by fraud, one thousand and more, which amounted

to about two millions in goods. The English company looked upon the thousand tons as a trifling affair, compared to the other advantages arising from this trade; an advice-boat, which constantly followed the vessel under pretext of carrying provisions, went, and returned continually; she was loaded in the English colonies with all sorts of goods that she brought to this vessel, which, as it was never empty, did as much business as a whole fleet. It frequently happened, that other ships came by permission to keep her full, and their sloops went to the coasts of America, when they had occasion, which not only wronged the Spanish government, but was prejudicial to every body concerned in the trade from Spain to the gulph of Mexico. The Spanish governors treated the English merchants with a rigour, which seldom keeps within proper bounds.

In the year 1739, one Jenkins, master of a vessel in that trade, presented himself at the bar of the house of commons. He was a plain, downright man, who had never been concerned in any illicit trade; but had been met by a Spanish guarda-costa in some place of America, which was prohibited to the English. The Spanish captain had seized the ship, put the crew in irons, slit the nose, and cut off the ears of the master. In this condition, cap-
tain

tain Jenkins appeared before the parliament; he informed them of his misfortune with that simplicity and openness, which distinguish a sailor: "Gentlemen, said he, when they had thus disfigured me, I was threatened with death; I expected it, and recommended my soul to God, and my revenge to my country." These words expressed so naturally, excited a general cry of compassion and indignation. The people of London insisted upon having, *A free sea, or a war*. Perhaps there never was more real rhetoric made use of than in the English parliament; and I do not know whether the premeditated harangues of the Athenians or Romans, on similar occasions, could surpass the unpremeditated speeches of Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, the minister Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since Earl of Bath. These discourses, which are the effects of the English constitution and spirit, sometimes strike strangers with amazement: thus the produce of any country, though undervalued at home, is greedily sought after abroad; but where the spirit of party reigns, we must read those speeches with caution, the true state of the nation being generally disguised. The ministerial party represents the kingdom in a flourishing situation, while the opposite faction

assures us that the nation is ruined ; both parties commonly exaggerate. “ Oh ! for those times
“ (cried one of their members of parliament
“ on this occasion) when an English minister
“ could say, that nobody should fire a cannon
“ in Europe without permission from the Eng-
“ lish.”

At last, the voice of the nation determined the king and parliament to declare war in form against Spain, about the end of the year 1739.

The war was at first carried on by sea, and the privateers of both nations, authorised by letters of marque, attacked the merchant-men in Europe and America :—thus they were reciprocally destroying the trade which had occasioned the ruptures between the two nations ; but it was not long before greater hostilities ensued.

In the month of March 1740, admiral Vernon entered the gulph of Mexico, and there attacked and took the city of Porto-bello, the receptacle of the treasures of the new world ; having destroyed the fortifications, he left the trade open to the English, who might now carry on by force of arms that which they had before done clandestinely, and which was indeed the cause of the present rupture. The English regarded this expedition as a singular piece of service done to the nation ; the admiral
received

received the thanks of both houses of parliament ; they wrote to him as they had formerly done to the duke of Marlborough, after the battle of Hocksted. After this conquest, the South-sea stock continued to rise, notwithstanding the immense expences of the nation ; the English being in hopes of conquering Spanish America. They imagined that nothing could stand before admiral Vernon, and when he went to besiege Carthagena, they were in so great haste to celebrate the taking of it, that while he was raising the siege, they struck off a medal, on one side of which was Carthagena, with this motto, *He has taken Carthagena* ; on the other side was admiral Vernon, with the inscription, *To the avenger of his country*. There are a great many instances of these premature medals which might deceive posterity, if history, which is more faithful and exact, did not correct these errors.

France, whose navy was far from being on a respectable footing, did not act openly, but the French ministry assisted the Spaniards as much as lay in their power.

Such then was the situation of affairs between England and Spain, when the death of Charles VI. gave rise to so much trouble in Europe. We have seen how much Germany suffered by the disputes between Austria and Bavaria ;

nor did Italy escape the desolation which attended the succession of the house of Austria. The Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards ; Parma and Placentia belonged by birthright to one of the sons of the queen, who was born princess of Parma. Had Philip V. claimed the Milanese for himself, all Italy would have been alarmed ; or if Don Carlos, already master of Naples and Sicily, had pretended to Parma and Placentia, the uniting so many states under one sovereign could not fail of creating disturbances ; therefore, Don Philip, the younger brother of Don Carlos, was pitched upon to succeed to the Milanese and Parma. The queen of Hungary, who was mistress of the Milanese, endeavoured to support her right to that province, while the king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, renewed his pretensions ; being afraid that the house of Austria-Lorraine, possessing at once the Milanese and Tuscany, might one day recover those territories, which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738 ; but he dreaded still more the power of France, and a prince of the house of Bourbon, when he already saw another prince of that house in possession of Naples and Sicily.

About the beginning of 1742, he resolved to make a particular alliance with the queen of Hungary ; though he did not agree with her in
all

all points, they were to unite only against the present danger, which threatened both, without seeking further advantages; and the king of Sardinia was at liberty to alter his measures when he should think proper. This was a treaty between two enemies, who only meant to defend themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent the infant Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who was not fond of him either as a friend or as a neighbour. Though cardinal Fleury had permitted Don Philip, and part of his army, to pass through France, he would not assist him with his troops.

At one time, great things are done; while, at another, men are afraid of doing any thing. The reason of this conduct was, that the French flattered themselves with bringing over the king of Sardinia to their interest, who gave them some room to hope for success.

Besides, they did not want an open war against the English, who would have declared it immediately. The revolutions in Germany hindered them also, at that time, from irritating the maritime powers: the English openly opposed the settlement of Don Philip in Italy, under the pretence of keeping the balance of Europe.

That balance, whether well or ill understood, had become the favourite passion of the Eng-

lish; but the views of the ministry were extended to a more national concern; they wanted to oblige Spain to divide with them the trade of the new world. On this condition, Don Philip might have gone over to Italy, as Don Carlos, whom they had assisted, had done in the year 1731. But the court of Spain would not agree to enrich its enemies at its own expence, though they still thought of establishing Don Philip in his dominions.

In the months of November and December 1741, the Spanish court sent over several bodies of troops to Italy; under the command of the duke of Montemar, who was not less known by the victory of Bitonto, than by his disgrace which followed it. These troops landed successively on the coasts of Tuscany, and in the ports of the state called *Degli Presidii*, belonging to the crown of the Two Sicilies. It was necessary to pass through the dominions of the Grand Duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, who granted them free passage, and declared that his country was neutral. The duke of Modena, who had married the daughter of the late duke of Orleans, regent of France, likewise declared himself neutral. Pope Benedict XIV. through whose territories both Spaniards and Austrians must pass, embraced the same neutrality with a better grace than
the

the others ; he acted in this respect as the common father of princes and people, and could find no fault whilst his children behaved with discretion in his dominions.

Fresh troops arrived from Spain, by the way of Genoa ; that republic declared itself neutral, and let them pass. About the same time, the king of Naples embraced the neutrality ; altho' he could not fail of being interested in the cause of his father and brother. Notwithstanding these declarations, not one of those potentates was neutral in fact.

With respect to the neutrality of the king of Naples, the sequel will shew its insincerity ; to their great surprise, on the 18th of August, an English squadron appeared within sight of the port of Naples ; it consisted of six men of war of sixty guns, six frigates, and two bomb-ships. Commodore (since admiral) Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer on shore with a letter to the prime minister, the substance of which was, that if the king did not recal his troops from the Spanish army, the town would immediately be bombarded. They held several consultations ; 'till the English commodore, laying his watch upon the deck, told them, he would allow them only one hour to come to a determination. At this time, the port was badly provided with artillery ; they
had

had not taken the necessary precautions against an unexpected attack ; and they were then sensible of the old maxim, *Master by sea, master by land*. They were obliged to comply with the English commodore's demands, and to keep their promises 'till they could put the port and kingdom in a state of defence.

The English themselves were sensible, that the king of Naples could no more keep that forced neutrality in Italy, than the king of England had observed his in Germany.

The Spanish army, under the command of the duke of Montemar, which had come into Italy to subdue Lombardy, being closely pushed by the Austrians, had retired to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. About this time, the king of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his dutchy of Savoy, where the vicissitudes of the war required his presence. The infant Don Philip had been prevented by the English squadron from landing fresh troops at Genoa, but he had penetrated, by land, into the dutchy of Savoy, of which he soon became master. That country is almost open and defenceless on the side of Dauphiny ; it is so barren and poor, that it was with difficulty that its sovereigns could raise from it a revenue of fifteen hundred thousand livres : Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, had abandoned that
province

province to go to the defence of Piedmont, a country of greater importance.

We see, by this sketch, that all Europe was alarmed, and that all the provinces experienced the calamities of war, from the farthest corner of Silesia to the very heart of Italy. Although Austria was at open war with Bavaria alone, yet all Italy was ravaged; the people of the Milanese, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, observed these irruptions and desolations with an important sorrow, having been long accustomed to be the prize of the conqueror, without even daring to give their suffrage.

The court of Spain demanded a passage for their troops through Switzerland into Italy, which was refused. The Swiss Cantons sell soldiers to all parties, and defend their country against all; and although their government is pacific, the people are all warriors, which rendered such a neutrality respectable. The Venetians, on their side, raised twenty thousand men to give weight to their neutrality.

There was in the harbour of Toulon a Spanish fleet, consisting of sixteen men of war, which had been destined to carry Don Philip to Italy; but as he had gone by land, the fleet was ordered to carry provisions for his troops; this was found to be impracticable, as they were constantly blocked up by an English fleet which commanded

commanded the Mediterranean sea, and menaced all the coasts of Italy and Provence. As the Spanish engineers were not expert in their art, they were exercised during four months, in the harbour of Toulon, in shooting at a mark, and prizes were proposed to excite their emulation and industry.

When they had acquired sufficient skill, the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, sailed from the road of Toulon; it consisted only of twelve men of war; the Spaniards not having a sufficient number of sailors and engineers to work sixteen: it was immediately joined by fourteen French ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships, under the command of M. de Court, who, at the age of fourscore, enjoyed all the vigour of body and mind which such a station required. Forty years had elapsed since the sea-fight off Malaga, where he had served as captain on board of the admiral's ship, and since that time, there had been no engagement at sea in any part of the world, excepting that off Messina in 1718. Admiral Mathews, who commanded the English fleet, presented himself before the united squadrons of France and Spain; his fleet consisted of forty-five ships of the line, five frigates, and four fire-ships; with the advantage of a superior number, he likewise had that of the wind being

being in his favour ; this last circumstance is of as much consequence at sea, as an advantageous post is on shore. The English were the first who ranged their naval forces in the order of battle, which is now in use, and it is from them that other nations have learned to dispose their fleets into the divisions of van, main, and rear. They fought in this order at the engagement off Toulon, where the two fleets were equally damaged, and alike dispersed.

This battle was indecisive, as sea-fights almost always are (if we except that of La Hogue) indeed we seldom see any other fruits from great preparations, and an obstinate action, than the destruction of numbers on both sides, and the dismasting of their ships. Each party complained ; the Spaniards thought they had not been properly supported, while the French accused the Spaniards of unskilfulness. Tho' these two nations were in alliance, they were not always united. Their antient antipathy sometimes revived among the people, while a most perfect cordiality subsisted between their kings.

The real advantage of this battle, was, in fact, gained by the French and Spaniards ; as the Mediterranean was now free, they could, at least for some time, send provisions from the coasts of Provence to Don Philip, who wanted
such

fuch supplies very much. But when admiral Mathews returned to those seas, neither French fleets nor Spanish squadrons could resist his force: these two nations having constantly numerous armies by land, were deprived of that inexhaustible source of seamen, which forms the basis of the English power.

CHAP. IX.

The Prince of CONTI forces the Passages of the
ALPS. Situation of Affairs in ITALY.

IN the midst of these struggles, Louis XV. declared war against the king of England, and the queen of Hungary; who, in return, declared war against him with the usual formalities: this was only a piece of ceremony on both sides; neither Spain nor Naples declared war, but they carried it on as effectually.

Don Philip, at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, commanded by the marquis de la Mina; and the prince of Conti, followed by twenty thousand Frenchmen, severally inspired their troops with that spirit of confidence, and of resolute courage, which were necessary for penetrating into Piedmont, where one battalion may stop a whole army, where they are exposed

every

every moment to fight among rocks, precipices and torrents, and where the difficulty of convoys reaching them was none of the smallest that they had to encounter. The prince of Conti, who had served as lieutenant-general in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, had been experienced in the art of war from his youth.

On the first of April 1744, the infant Don Philip, and the prince of Conti, passed the river Varo, which falls from the Alps into the sea of Genoa, below Nice. The whole county of Nice surrendered; but before they could advance farther, they were obliged to attack the intrenchments near Villa-Franca, and after them the fortress of Montalban, situated among the rocks, which formed a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. They could not march but in defiles, and through hollow ways, where they were exposed to the artillery of the enemy, which annoyed them also, when clambering from rock to rock. They were obliged to encounter some of the English even on the Alps, for admiral Mathews, after refitting his fleet, had returned to resume the empire of the sea. He had landed at Villa-Franca, where his soldiers joined the Piedmontese, and his engineers served the artillery. Notwithstanding these dangers, the prince of Conti presented himself before the rampart of Piedmont near Villa-Franca;

Franca; this was about two hundred toises in height, and was thought by the king of Sardinia to be inaccessible, and it was covered with French and Spaniards. The English admiral, and his sailors, were on the point of being taken prisoners.

They then advanced and penetrated as far as the valley of Chateau-dauphin. The count de Campo Santo, at the head of the Spaniards, followed the prince of Conti through another defile; the name and title of Campo Santo, had had been conferred upon him as a recompence for his signal valour at the battle of Campo Santo, in the same manner as the name of Bitonto had been given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. No title can be more glorious than that of a battle which has been gained.

The bailiff of Givri, in open day, scaled a rock, on which two thousand Piedmontese were entrenched; and the brave Chevert, who was the first that mounted the rampart at Prague, was among the foremost who reached the top: this scene was more bloody than that of Prague, as they had no cannon, and the Piedmontese kept playing theirs constantly upon the assailants. The king of Sardinia was in person behind these entrenchments endeavouring to animate his troops. The bailiff of Givri was
wounded

wounded at the beginning of the action, and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage no less important had been just carried by the French, ordered a retreat; which Givri instantly caused to be beat; but the officers and soldiers were too interestingly engaged to listen to it. Lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaped into the first entrenchment, where he was followed by the grenadiers, and, what is hardly credible, they passed close by the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the instant that the pieces being fired, were running back with their usual motion: they lost about two thousand men in this action; but not one of the Piedmontese escaped. The king of Sardinia, in despair, wanted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants, and they kept him back with much difficulty; the bailiff of Givri, colonel Salis, and the marquis de la Carte, were among the slain, and the duke d'Agenois, with a great many others, were wounded. But still their loss was less considerable, than they might have expected from such a situation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not arrive in time at the narrow rugged defile, where this furious engagement had happened, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, General of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "We may have, says he, opportunities of behaving as well as the French, but we cannot
" behave

“ behave better.” I always take notice of those letters of the general officers which contain anything particularly interesting: for this reason, I shall transcribe that which the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this engagement :
 “ This has been, says he, one of the most brilliant and lively actions that ever happened ;
 “ the troops have shewn a valour more than
 “ human. The brigade of Poitou, having
 “ M. d’Agenois at its head, has gained immortal honour.

“ The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I
 “ recommend to you M. de Solemi, and the
 “ chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed ;
 “ your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, will feel how much I am affected by his
 “ loss.” History ought to preserve those expressions from a prince to a king, which are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

During the attack on Chateau-dauphin, it was found necessary to carry what was called the barricades, a passage about eighteen feet broad between two mountains, which reached the clouds. Into this precipice the king of Sardinia had turned the course of the river Sture, which watered the neighbouring valley. Three entrenchments, and a covered way beyond the river, defended the post of the barricades ;
 after

after this, they had to reduce the castle of Demont, built at an immense expence on the top of a barren rock, in the middle of the valley of Sture: whence the French, being then masters of the Alps, could distinguish the plains of Piedmont. These barricades were reduced the night before the surrender of Chateau-dauphin. The French and Spaniards carried them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them between two fires. This advantage was a master-stroke in the art of war, and was glorious in that it obtained the object in view with little bloodshed.

CHAP. X.

New Misfortunes of the Emperor CHARLES VII.
The Battle of DETTINGEN.

THESE great actions, however, were but of little service in promoting the principal design, which is generally the case in all wars. If the prince of Conti was victorious in Italy, it did not make the cause of the queen of Hungary less triumphant. The emperor Charles VII. in fact, made emperor by the king of France, was, nevertheless, still banished from his own estates, and a wanderer in Germany; the successes in Italy did not prevent the French from being repulsed on the Rhine, and the Mayne: in short, France still continued to be distressed by supporting a foreign cause, and a war, which might have been very well spared; a war undertaken by the ambition of marshal Belleisle, in which little could be gained, but a great deal might be lost.

The emperor Charles VII. at first took refuge in Augsburg, a free imperial city, under a republican government, and famous by the name of Augustus; being the only city which had preserved any remains of that name, which was formerly

formerly so common on the frontier towns of France and Germany. He made but a short stay there, and on leaving it in the month of June 1743, had the mortification to see a colonel of Hussars, named Mentzel, noted for his brutality and robberies, enter the place, and insult him in the public streets.

His unhappy destiny next led him to Frankfort, a city still more privileged than Augsburg, and in which he had carried his election to the empire, but where he now saw his misfortunes encrease: four miles from this new refuge, he came to a battle, which finally decided his fate.

The earl of Stair, a Scots nobleman, brought up under the duke of Marlborough, and formerly ambassador in France, had marched towards Frankfort, with an army of fifty thousand men and upwards, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived with his second son, the duke of Cumberland, after having gone to Frankfort, the asylum of the emperor, whom he acknowledged as his sovereign, while he was going to war to dethrone him.

Marshal duke de Noailles, who headed the French army, had borne arms ever since he was fifteen years of age; he had commanded at Catalonia in the war 1701, and had since filled
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the several principal departments of the state : tho' at the head of the finances, at the beginning of the regency : at once a General of the army, and minister of state, he ceased not to cultivate literature ; an example, common among the Greeks and Romans, but, in the present times, very seldom to be met with in Europe. This General, by an extraordinary manœuvre, immediately made himself master of the field ; hemmed in the army of the English, which had the Mayne between it and the French, and cut off their provisions by commanding the passages above and below their camp.

The king of England was posted in Aschaffembourg, a city upon the Mayne belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this step against the advice of lord Stair, and began to repent it ; he now saw his army blocked up and famished by the marshal de Noailles, he was then obliged to reduce his soldiers to half their common allowance. They were so much in want of forage, that it was proposed to hamstring the horses, and it would have been put in execution if they had remained two days longer in that situation. The king of England was, at last, obliged to retire to seek provisions at Hanau on the road to Frankfort ; in his retreat he was exposed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, placed on the banks of the Mayne.

Mayne. It was necessary to hasten the march of his army though weakened by hunger, as the rear-guard might otherwise be destroyed by the French; for marshal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw over bridges, between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, upon the road to Hanau, and the English had to their other mistakes added that of permitting the bridges to be constructed. On the 26th of June, at midnight, the English army decamped with the greatest silence, and hazarded a precipitate and dangerous march to which they were thus reduced. Marshal de Noailles observed the English, who seemed to be hastening to their ruin, in a strait road between a mountain and a river. He took this opportunity to cause the squadrons of the king's household, the dragoons and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English must pass. He ordered four brigades of infantry, and the French guards to file off over two bridges. These troops were to remain posted at Dettingen, by the side of a deep hollow, where they could not be observed by the English, whose motions, at the same time, were seen by marshal Noailles. The enemy was likewise hemmed in by two batteries, which M. de Valliere, a skilful engineer, had erected on the banks of the river. This obliged them to pass through a defile be-

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tween

tween Dettingen, and a little river near that town: thus situated, the French designed to fire upon them with certain advantage, in hopes that even the king of England himself might become their prisoner. In short, this was a decisive moment, which might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, to remain in this position 'till the enemy should fall into the snare. Unfortunately, however, he went to reconnoitre the enemy's advanced guards, in order to bring his cavalry more forward. Most of his officers were of opinion, that he ought to have remained at the head of his troops to give orders. He detached five brigades to occupy the post of Aschaffenburg, so that the English were encompassed on all sides. But a moment's impatience rendered all these measures ineffectual.

The duke de Grammont imagined the first column of the enemy was already gone by, and that he had nothing to do but to fall on the rear-guard, which could not oppose him. He accordingly ordered his troops to pass the hollow way: thus quitting an advantageous post, where he should have remained, he advanced, with the regiment of guards, and that of Noailles, into a small plain, called the Cockfield, where

where the English, who filed off in order of battle, soon formed themselves. By this means, the French, who had drawn the enemy into a snare, fell into it themselves. They rushed on to the attack in great disorder, and with unequal strength. The cannon, which had been placed along the banks of the Mayne by M. de Vallicre, and which had played with success on the enemy's flank, particularly the Hanoverians, were rendered useless, as they could not now be employed without annoying the French themselves. Just as this mistake was committed, marshal Noailles returned to that part of the army.

The king's household on horseback, and the carabineers, by their impetuosity, soon broke two lines of the enemy's infantry; but the latter immediately rallied, and surrounded the French; the officers of the regiment of guards advanced with great intrepidity at the head of a small body of infantry, which cost them dear, for twenty-one were killed on the spot, and as many dangerously wounded, so that the whole regiment was routed.

The duke de Chartres (since duke of Orleans) the prince of Clermont, count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre, notwithstanding his youth, used all their efforts to stop this confusion. The count de Noailles had two horses killed under

him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from his horse.

It was in vain the marquis de Puisegur, son of the marshal of that name, called to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied as many as he could, and even killed some with his own hand, who fled, and cried out, *Save himself who can!* The princes and dukes of Biron, Luxembourg, Richelieu, and Pequigni-Chevreuse also rallied some brigades, and broke into the lines of the enemy.

In another quarter, the king's household, and the carabineers stood their ground. In one place, might be seen a troop of gendarmes; in another, a company of guards; here, an hundred musqueteers; there, companies of cavalry advancing with light-horse, and others who followed the carabineers on horseback, all running up to the English sword-in-hand, with more courage than good order; indeed they had so little of the latter, that about fifty musqueteers, hurried on by their valour, penetrated into the regiment of horse commanded by lord Stair. Twenty-seven officers of horse, belonging to the royal household, perished in this confusion; fifty-six were dangerously wounded, among the last, were count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Beuvron, the duke de Boufflers, and count de la Motte Hondancourt, gentleman

gentleman of honour to the queen, whose horse being killed, he was, for some time, trampled under foot, and at last carried off almost dead. The marquis de Gentaud, had his arm broken, and the duke de Rochechouart, first gentleman of the chamber, having been twice wounded, continued fighting 'till he was killed on the spot. The marquisses de Sabran, and de Fleury, the counts d'Éstrade, and Rostaing, likewise lost their lives; nor must we omit among the particulars of that melancholy day, the death of the count de Boufflers, of the branch of Remaincourt. He was a boy little more than ten years old; a cannon-ball broke his leg, which he saw cut off, and died with amazing resolution. Such youth and courage greatly affected the spectators of his misfortune. The loss was no less considerable among the English officers: the king of England fought on foot and on horseback; sometimes at the head of his cavalry, and at others, at the head of the infantry: the duke of Cumberland was wounded riding by his side; the duke d'Aremberg, the Austrian general, received a wound in the upper part of his breast, and the English lost several general officers. The combat lasted three hours, but it was too unequal; courage alone was engaged against numbers, valour and discipline. At length, marshal de Noailles gave orders for a retreat.

The king of England dined on the field of battle, and immediately after retreated, without allowing time to take care of all his wounded ; six hundred of whom were left behind, and recommended by lord Stair, to the generosity of marshal de Noailles. They were treated by the French as their countrymen ; both nations behaving to each other with much respect. The letters which passed between the two Generals, shew how far politeness and humanity may be carried, even amidst the horrors of war.

Nor was this greatness of mind confined to the earl of Stair, and the duke of Noailles ; the duke of Cumberland gave an instance of equal generosity, which ought to be transmitted to posterity : it happened that a musqueteer, named Girardau, being dangerously wounded, was brought near the duke's tent ; most of the surgeons being busy elsewhere, those who were at hand, were preparing to dress the duke, who was wounded by a ball in the calf of his leg : “ Begin, said the prince, by dressing that French
“ officer's wound : he is more hurt than I ;
“ he may perhaps want assistance ; I shall have
“ help enough.”

In other respects, the loss of both armies was nearly equal ; the allies had two thousand, two hundred and thirty-one men killed and wounded, according to the English account, which seldom
diminishes

diminishes their own loss, or exaggerates that of the enemy.

The French suffered a great loss in rendering the most excellent dispositions abortive, by the same precipitate ardour and want of discipline, which formerly occasioned their losing the battles of Poitiers, Cressly, and Agincourt. The writer of this history, saw the earl of Stair at the Hague, about six weeks after the battle, and took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it. That General returned for answer : “ I think the French
“ were guilty of one great fault, and we of two ;
“ yours was, in not having patience to wait for
“ us ; and ours were, first in running ourselves
“ into imminent danger of destruction, and
“ then not taking the proper advantage of our
“ victory.”

After this action, a great many French and English officers went to Frankfort, a neut al city, where the emperor saw the earl of Stair, and marshal de Noailles, without being able to express any other sentiments than those of patience under his misfortunes.

Marshal de Noailles, however, found the emperor labouring under the greatest chagrin, without hope, and even destitute of the means of supporting his family in that imperial city, in which no person would advance a penny to the chief of the empire. He, therefore, gave

him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns on the king his master, who, he was very certain, would accept it.—To such a situation was, at this time, reduced, the majesty of the Roman empire !

CHAP. XI.

The first Campaign of LOUIS XV. in FLANDERS, and his Success. He quits FLANDERS to go to the Relief of ALSACE, which was threatened with an Invasion, while the Prince of CONTI endeavoured to open the Passage through the ALPS. New Confederacies. The King of PRUSSIA again takes up Arms.

IT was in these dangerous circumstances, in this shock of so many kingdoms, in this medley and confusion of war and politics, that Louis XV. began his first campaign. The frontiers on the German side were guarded with much difficulty. The queen of Hungary had made the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, take an oath of fidelity. She caused a memorial to be published in Frankfort, where Charles VII. had retired, in which the election of this emperor was declared totally null and void : so that he was obliged at last to declare himself neuter, as they still kept stripping him
of

of his estates. Proposals were made to him for abdicating and resigning the empire to Francis, Grand duke of Tuscany, husband of Maria Theresa.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand Duke, formed a lodgment in an isle upon the Rhine, near to Old Brisac. Some Hungarian parties penetrated beyond the Saare, and entered the frontiers of Lorrain. The famous partizan, Mentzel, dispersed manifestos in Alsace, in the three bishoprics, and in the county of Burgundy, by which he invited the people, in the name of the queen of Hungary, to return to their obedience to the house of Austria; he threatened the inhabitants, who had taken up arms, to hang them up after he had forced them to cut off their own noses and ears. This piece of insolence, worthy a soldier of Attila, though despicable in itself, was a proof of his successes. The Austrian armies threatened Naples, at the time the French and Spanish armies were only in the Alps. The English, victorious by land, reigned likewise upon the seas. The Dutch were going to declare themselves, and promised to join the English and Austrians in Flanders. But all turned out quite contrary, as the king of Prussia, satisfied with being possessed of Silesia, made a separate peace with the queen of Hungary.

Louis XV. bore all the burthen of this war. He not only protected the frontiers upon the borders of the Rhine and the Moselle with his troops, but he even prepared to invade England. He sent to Rome for the young prince Charles Edward, eldest son of the pretender, and grandson to the unfortunate king James the second. A fleet of one-and-twenty ships, containing twenty-four thousand land forces, convoyed him into the English channel. This prince had now the first sight of his promised kingdom; but a tempest, and the appearance of a fleet of English men of war, rendered this enterprize fruitless.

About this time the king set out for Flanders. He had a glorious army, which comte d'Argenson, secretary of war, had taken care to furnish with every thing necessary for the siege or the field.

Louis XV. being arrived in Flanders; the Dutch, who had promised to join the Austrian and English troops, began to be afraid. They did not dare to fulfil their promise, but sent deputies to the king, instead of troops against him: while the French took Courtray and Menin, in the presence of those very deputies, and the next day surrounded Ypres.

The prince of Clermont, abbé of St. Germain de Prés, commanded the principal attacks

at

at the siege of Ypres. There had not been seen in France since the times of the cardinals Valette and Sourdis, a man who had thus united the profession of arms with that of the church. The prince of Clermont had this permission from pope Clement XII. who was of opinion that the ecclesiastical profession, ought to be subordinate to that of war, in the person of the great grandson of the renowned Condé. They attacked the covered way in the front of the Lower Town, although that enterprize seemed hazardous and premature. Field-marshal, marquis de Beaveau, at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbon and Royal Comtois, received a mortal wound, which gave him excessive pain : he died, in inconceivable tortures, regretted by the officers and soldiers as a promising General, and by all Paris, as a man of sense and probity. —He said to the soldiers who carried him off, “ Leave me, my friends, to die, and return “ to the battle.”—Ypres soon capitulated, on which not a moment was lost. While the besiegers entered this town, the duke of Boufflers was taking fort Kenoque ; and while the king was afterwards going to take a view of the frontiers, the prince of Clermont undertook the siege of Fuernes, which, in five days time, hung out the white flag and submitted. The English and Austrian generals, who commanded on the
side

side of Bruffels, beheld this rapid progress without being able to stop it. A body of troops, under the command of marshal Saxe, which the king had ordered to oppose them, were so well posted, and covered the sieges so opportunely that their success was infallible. The allies had not formed any fixed and determined plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. Those of the French army were well concerted.— Marshal Saxe, posted at Courtray, prevented all the motions of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the French. A numerous artillery which they easily drew from Douay, a regiment of matrosses, consisting of near five thousand men, fully officered for conducting a siege, and composed of soldiers active and well disciplined ; add to these, a large body of engineers,—were advantages, that nations, uniting in haste to declare war, could not be possessed of for some years. Such establishments as these must be the fruit of time, and concerted with regular attention in a powerful monarchy. And hence the French have necessarily the superiority in sieges, over other nations.

In the midst of this progress, news arrived that the Austrians had passed the Rhine on the side of Spire, in sight of the French and Bavarians, that they had entered Alsace, and that
the

the frontiers of Lorraine lay exposed to them. This news was not directly believed, but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by making several feints in different places at once, succeeded, at length, on that side where count Seckendoff commanded the Bavarians, the Palatines, and Hessians, allies in the service of France.

The Austrian army, to the number of about sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without any resistance. Prince Charles, in one hour, made himself master of Lauterbourg, a post weakly fortified, but of the utmost importance. He ordered general Nadaſti to advance to Weſſenbourg, an open town; the garrison of which were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. He put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and the lines surrounding it. Marshal Coigny, who commanded in these quarters, an intrepid, discreet, modest General, celebrated for two victories in Italy in the war of 1738, seeing his communication with the French was cut off, and that the province of Meſſin, and all Lorraine was falling a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians, had no other resource left, than to pass by the enemy's troops to re-enter Alsace, and cover the country. He marched immediately with the major part of his army to Weſſenbourg, of which the enemy had, in the mean time, pos-
sessed

felled themselves. He attacked them in the towns and in the lines ; the Austrians defended both with courage. They fought in the squares and in the streets, which were soon covered with the slain. The action lasted six hours : the Bavarians, who had very indifferently guarded the Rhine, repaired their negligence by their valour. They were, above all, encouraged by the count of Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the service of the emperor, who received no less than ten musket-shots in his clothes. The marquis of Montal led on the French, who, at length, retook the town and the lines, but were soon forced, by the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Hagenau, which they were also obliged to abandon. The flying parties of the enemy pushed several leagues beyond the Saare, and spread terror even to Luneville, from which king Stanislaus Lezinsky was forced to depart with all his court.

At the news of this reverse of fortune, which the king heard at Dunkirk, he did not hesitate on the part he ought to take : he resolved to interrupt the course of his success in Flanders, to leave marshal Saxe with about forty thousand men to preserve what he had taken, and to hasten himself to the relief of Alsace.

After

After having dispatched marshal Noailles before him, he sent the duke of Harcourt with some troops, to guard the streights of Phalsbourg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty-six battalions, and three-and-thirty squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign, revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, alarmed by the passage of the Rhine, and, still more so, by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany.

The king took his route by Saint Quintin, la Fere, Laon, and Rheims, marching his troops with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldiers pay and subsistence, a circumstance which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the fifth of August, and on the seventh, tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, compelled prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more perilous situation than any she had yet experienced.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the peace of Breslaw, especially after a defensive alliance concluded the same year, betwixt that prince and the king of England. But the queen
of

of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, being united against the emperor by the treaty of Worms ; the northern powers, and particularly Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance, and the success of the queen of Hungary's arms increasing daily in Germany ; from this situation of the affairs of Europe, it was plain, that, sooner or later, the king of Prussia had every thing to fear. In a word, he had renewed his engagements with France ; the treaty had been secretly signed the fifth of April ; and afterwards a strict alliance had been concluded at Frankfort, between the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden, in quality of landgrave of Hesse. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, so that one half of Europe was excited against the other, and, on all sides, they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau came, on the part of Prussia, to inform the king of France that his new ally was marching towards Prague, with an army of fourscore thousand Prussians, and that twenty-two thousand more, were advancing into Moravia.

[This

This powerful diversion in Germany, the conquests of the king in Flanders, and his march to Alsace, had dissipated the apprehensions of the French, when they were seized with a panic of a different nature, which spread general consternation, terror and dismay, throughout the whole kingdom of France.

CHAP. XII.

The King of FRANCE is at the Point of Death.

He recovers and marches into GERMANY ; lays Siege to FRIBOURG, while the Austrian Army, which had penetrated into ALSACE, returns to the Relief of BOHEMIA. The Prince of CONTI gains a Battle in ITALY.

THE day te-deum was sung in Metz, for the taking of Chateau-dauphin, the king felt some symptoms of a fever. This was the eighth of August : his illness increased, and the fever turned to the malignant or putrid kind, and on the fourteenth, in the night, he was judged to be in imminent danger. His constitution was robust, and fortified by exercise ; but the best constitutions are most subject to sink under these disorders, because they have strength enough to support the first attacks, and to accumulate, for some days, the principles of a disease, which they resisted in the beginning. This event spread fear and distraction from town to town ; the people flocked together from all the country about Metz ; the roads were filled with persons of all ages and conditions, who,
by

by their different reports, increased the general inquietude.

The news of the king's danger reached Paris in the middle of the night ; the inhabitants rose from their beds, and ran about in great disorder, without knowing whither they went.—The churches were opened, though at midnight, nor did the people any longer regard the time of sleeping, waking, or eating.—All Paris seemed distracted, and the houses of people of condition were surrounded with a continual croud. The public squares were also crowded by the populace, who all cried out, “ If he “ dies, 'tis for having marched to our relief.” Even strangers accosted and interrogated one another in the churches on a subject in which every one was so deeply interested. In many churches, the priests, who read prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted the recital by their tears ; the people answering them with sobs and cries. The courier, who brought the news of the king's recovery to Paris on the 19th, was embraced, and almost stifled by the people : they kissed his horse, and led him in triumph about the streets ; all which resounded with the joyful cry of *The King is recovered !* When this monarch was informed of these uncommon transports of joy, which succeeded the general sorrow, he melted into tears, and raising him-
self

self up, through an emotion of sensibility which gave him strength, cried out, “What a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! What have I done to deserve it?”

Such are the people of France; susceptible even to enthusiasm, and capable of any excess in their affections as well as in their resentments!

The archdutchess, spouse to Charles prince of Lorrain, died about this time at Brussels, in a very deplorable manner*. She was greatly and justly beloved by the people of Brabant; but those people are not so passionate in their attachments as the French.

Courtiers are not like common people.—The danger of Louis XV. excited among them, even more disputes and intrigues than prevailed when Louis XIV. was upon the point of death at Calais. His grandson found their effects in Metz. At the very time when they hourly expected his death, they troubled him with the most impertinent overtures, inspired, as they pretended, by the most religious motives; though as contrary to reason, as void of humanity: but he escaped the snares of death as well as those of his courtiers.

* Said to have fallen a sacrifice, in child-birth, to the unskillfulness of her midwife.

He had no sooner perfectly recovered his understanding, than he reflected in the midst of his own personal danger, on that into which prince Charles, by his passage over the Rhine, had thrown all France. He had marched with no other design than that of attacking that prince; but, having sent marshal Noailles in his place, he said to count d'Argenson, "Write
" in my name to marshal Noailles, and tell him,
" that while Louis XIII. was carried to his
" grave, the prince of Condé gained a battle." The French, nevertheless, with great difficulty, cut off part of the arrear guard of prince Charles, who retired in good order. This prince, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French troops, repassed with little loss, in the face of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained, that they had thus let an enemy escape, who was coming against him. This was an opportunity luckily missed: the illness of the king of France; the delays occasioned in the march of his troops; a difficult and fenny country, which the king must have passed over to meet the prince, together with the precautions he had taken, and the bridges he had secured; in short, every thing facilitated this retreat, in which he lost not even a magazine.

Having now repassed the Rhine with full fifty thousand men, he marched towards the
Danube

Danube and the Elbe, with incredible expedition, and after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasbourg, he went, a second time, to deliver Bohemia. But the king of Prussia advanced towards Prague, which he invested the 4th of September; and, what appeared very strange, general Ogilvy, who defended it with fifteen thousand men, surrendered himself, in ten days after, with his whole garrison, prisoners of war. This was the same governor, who, in 1741, surrendered the town in still less time, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand men made prisoners of war, the capital of Bohemia taken, the rest of the kingdom submitting in a few days after, Moravia invaded at the same time, the French army entering again into Germany, and the success in Italy: all gave hopes that the grand quarrel of Europe was going to be decided in favour of the emperor Charles VII.

Louis XV. though not perfectly recovered, resolved upon besieging Fribourg in September, and accordingly marched his troops for that purpose. He passed the Rhine in his turn; and to strengthen his hopes of success upon his arrival at Strasbourg, he received the news of a victory gained by the prince of Conti.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battle of CONTI. The Conduct of the King of FRANCE. The King of NAPLES surprized near ROME.

TO make a descent into the Milanese, it is necessary to take the town of Conti, and, therefore, the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti besieged it. The king of Sardinia attacked them in their lines with a superior army, and nothing could be better concerted than the enterprize of this monarch. It was one of those occasions on which it was politic to give battle. If he proved conqueror, the French would have but few resources, and a retreat was extremely difficult; if he was conquered, the town would not have been in a worse condition to defend itself at this advanced season, and his retreat was secured. The disposition of his troops was the most artful that ever was made; he was nevertheless defeated. The French and Spaniards fought as allies resolved effectually to assist each other, and as rivals for fame. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, with the field of battle. The Spaniards lost only nine hundred men, and the French

French had one thousand, two hundred killed and wounded. The prince of Conti, who acted the soldier as well as the general, had his cuirass pierced twice, and two horses killed under him. He mentioned nothing of this in his letter to the king, but he enlarged on the wounds of Messieurs de la Force, de Senneterre, and de Chavelin; on the signal services of Monsieur de Courton, those of Messrs. de Choisel, de Chala, de Beaupreau, and all who had seconded him, requesting rewards for their services. This history would be but a mere chronicle, if we were to relate all those meritorious actions, which, by becoming common, are lost in their multiplicity.

But yet, this new victory was in the number of those, which occasion great losses without producing any real advantages to the conquerors. Above one hundred and twenty battles have been fought in Europe, since the year 1600, and among them all, ten only were decisive: thus hath blood been idly spilt on account of political interests, which vary every day. This victory at first inspired confidence, which soon changed into despair: the rigour of the season, the melting of the snow, the overflowing of the Sture, and the torrents from the mountains, were more useful to the king of Sardinia than the victory of Coni was to the infant and the prince of Conti. The two latter, therefore, were obliged

to

to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains with an army very much weakened. It is almost always the lot of those who make a campaign near the Alps, if they have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their troops even by their victories.

The king of France, in this wet season, lay before Fribourg: the besiegers were obliged to turn the course of the river Treisen, and to open a canal two thousand six hundred toises in length; but scarce was it finished, when a dyke broke, and their work was to do over again. They laboured under the fire of the castle of Fribourg, and it was necessary to set open two branches of the river at once. The bridges, built upon the new canal, were also damaged by the torrent from the broken dyke. These they repaired in one night, and the next day pushed on for the covered-way over the enemy's mines, and in the face of a continual fire of musquetry and artillery. Five hundred men were buried in the earth, killed or wounded. Two whole companies were destroyed by the explosion of the mines in the covered-way, and the next day they compleatly drove out the enemy, in spite of the bombs, stones and grenades, with which they made a constant and terrible havock. They had sixteen engineers in these two attacks, every one of whom was

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wounded.

wounded. A stone struck the prince de Soubis, and broke his arm; of which, as soon as the king was informed, he went to see him, repeating his visits, and staying to see his wounds dressed. This tenderness in the monarch greatly encouraged the whole army;—the soldiers redoubled their ardour in following the duke de Chartres, now duke of Orleans, and first prince of the blood, who led them on to the trenches.

General Damnitz, governor of Fribourg, did not hang out the white flag until the sixth of November, two months after the opening of the trenches: the resistance of the castle lasted only seven days. The king, who was now master of Brisgau, commanded all Suabia, while the prince of Clermont, on his part, was advanced even to Constance; the emperor being returned at last to Munich.

Affairs in Italy also took a favourable turn, although very slowly. The king of Naples pursued the Austrians, conducted by the prince of Lobkowitz, upon the territories of Rome. Every thing was to be expected in Bohemia from the diversion to be made by the king of Prussia; but, by one of those reverses of fortune, so common in this war, prince Charles of Lorrain drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had driven the French in 1742 and 1743; the Prussians committing the same blunders, and
retreating

retreating in the manner with which they had reproached the French. They abandoned successively all the posts which secured Prague; and, at last, were even obliged to abandon Prague itself.

Prince Charles, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year in the sight of that of the king of Prussia, which he followed almost to Silesia. His detached parties went up to the gates of Breslau; and it was at length doubted whether the queen of Hungary, who appeared in the month of June to be totally undone, would not begin the war again at Silesia in the month of December in the same year. Nay, it was apprehended, that the emperor, who had re-entered his desolate capital, would be obliged to abandon it again.

All Germany was the subject of revolution, and of political intrigue. The kings of France and England alternately purchased partisans in the empire. Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, sold himself to the English for one hundred and fifty thousand guineas per annum. If every one was astonished that in these circumstances a king of Poland and elector of the empire, was obliged to receive this money, they were more so, that England was in a condition to give it, after having given five hun-

dred thousand guineas the same year to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand to the king of Sardinia, besides paying subsidies to the elector of Mentz, and to the elector of Cologne, brother to the emperor, who received twenty-two thousand guineas of the court of London, for permitting the enemies of his brother to raise troops against him in his bishoprics of Cologne, Munster, Osnaburg, Ildefheim, Paderborn, and their abbeys; for he had accumulated to himself all these ecclesiastical benefices, according to the custom of Germany, and not according to the rules of the Church. His selling himself to the English was not very honourable, but he always believed, that an emperor, created by France, could not support himself, and therefore sacrificed the interests of his brother to his own.

Maria Theresa had in Flanders a formidable army, composed of Germans, of English, and of the Dutch, who, at length, declared themselves after a long neutrality.

French Flanders was defended by marshal Saxe, whose army was less in number by twenty thousand men, than that of the allies. But this General had recourse to those military resources which neither depend on fortune, nor the valour of troops :—to camp and decamp at proper times ;

times ; to cover his own country ; to maintain his army at the expence of the enemy ; to invade their country 'when they advance on his, and force them to retreat ; to render force useless, by means of artifice,—these are regarded as master-pieces in the art military ; and these marshal Saxe put in practice from the month of August to the beginning of November.

The disputes about the Austrian succession increased daily ; the fate of the emperor grew more uncertain ; the interests of the contending parties grew more complicated, and the success of their arms reciprocal.

It is true that this war secretly enriched Germany, at the same time that its country was laid waste : the money of France, dissipated with so much profusion, remained in the hands of Germans, and, in the end, rendered this extensive country more opulent, and consequently, sometime or other, more powerful, if ever it could be reunited under one chief.

It was not thus with Italy, which, besides, cannot raise a considerable force, like Germany, in a long space of time. France sent into the Alps but forty-two battalions and thirty-three squadrons ; which, the troops being as usual incomplete, amounted in the whole only to twenty-six thousand men. The

infant's army amounted to near the same number in the beginning of the campaign, and both of them, so far from enriching a foreign country, drew almost all their subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the territories of the pope, on which prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian general, was posted with the major part of thirty thousand men, they were rather impoverished than enriched by them. This part of Italy soon became a scene of blood in the vast theatre of war, which extended itself from the Danube to the Tiber.

The armies of the queen of Hungary were upon the point of conquering the kingdom of Naples in the months of March, April, and May 1744. Ever since the month of July, the Neapolitan and Austrian armies were fighting on the territories of Rome. The king of Naples, and the duke of Modena were in Velletri, formerly capital of the Volsci, now inhabited by the deans of the Holy College. The king of the Two Sicilies occupied the palace of Genetti, an edifice of great magnificence and taste. The enterprize of prince Lobkowitz at Velletri, turned out like that of prince Eugene at Cremona in 1702; for history is only a detail of the same events repeated with some variation. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri

let. in the middle of the night; cut to-pieces the great guard; killed those who made resistance, and made prisoners of those who did not. The consternation and alarm was universal: the king of Naples and the duke of Modena, were in danger of being taken: the marquis de l'Hopital, ambassador of France to the court of Naples, who accompanied the king, awakened by the noise, fled to his assistance and saved him. He was no sooner gone from his house, than it was filled with soldiers, plundered and ransacked. The king, followed by the duke of Modena, and the ambassador, went to put himself at the head of the troops without the town. The Austrians distributed themselves in the houses, and general Novati took possession of the duke of Modena's.

Whilst the Austrians were thus busy in pillaging and rejoicing in their security, the same thing happened as at Cremona. The Walloon guards, an Irish regiment, and some Swiss, repulsed them, strewed the streets with dead, and retook the town. Prince Lobkowitz was, a few days after, obliged to retire towards Rome: the king of Naples pursued him; the prince made towards one gate of the town, and the king to another; both of them passed the Tiber, and the people of Rome had the sight of both

armies from the ramparts. The king was well received at Rome, under the title of the count of Pouzolles : his guards were under arms in the streets, while he was kissing the pope's toe ; and the two armies continued the war upon the territories of Rome, which gave thanks to heaven that the ravages of war were confined to its campagna.

In a word ; it is plain that Italy was the grand point in view at the court of Spain ; that Germany was a most delicate object with respect to the conduct of the court of France, and that, on both sides, success was as yet wholly dubious.

CHAP. XIV.

The taking of MARSHAL BELLEISLE. The Emperor CHARLES VII. dies; but the War is carried on with more Vigour from this Event.

THE king of France immediately after the taking of Fribourg returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been fearful of losing. He remained three days there to shew himself to the inhabitants, who, by this act of condescension, thought themselves sufficiently rewarded for their zeal.

The king, intending always to support the emperor, had sent marshal Belleisle to Munich, to Cassel, and into Silesia, charged with full powers from him to the emperor. This General was on his return from Munich, the imperial residence, with the count his brother: they had been at Cassel, and followed their route, without any suspicion, through countries in which the king of Prussia had every where post-houses, which, by conventions established between the princes of Germany, are always

regarded as neuter and inviolable. As they were taking horses from one of these offices, in a village called Elbinrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested by the Hanoverian bailiff, very ill used, and in a little time after sent over to England. The duke of Belleisle was a prince of the empire, and by this dignity, the arrest might be looked on as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, an emperor would have revenged the illegality of this proceeding; but Charles VII. reigned at a time when every thing might be attempted against him, and he had no remedy but complaints. The French minister pleaded at once all the privileges of ambassadors, and the rights of war: if marshal Belleisle was regarded as prince of the empire, and minister of the king of France, going to the Prussian and Imperial courts, as neither of these were at war with Hanover, it was very certain that his person was inviolable: if he was considered as a general and marshal of France, the king of France offered to pay his, and his brother's ransom, according to the regulation established at Frankfort the 18th of June 1743, between France and England. The ransom of a marshal of France is fifty thousand livres, and that of a lieutenant-general fifteen thousand. The minister of George II. eluded these

these pressing remonstrances with a strange and unheard-of evasion : he declared that he regarded Meiliss. de Belleisle as prisoners of state. They were treated with the most distinguished attention, according to the maxims of most of the courts of Europe, who soften the injustice of policy, and the cruelty of war, by even seducing external acts of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. so little respected in the empire, and having in it no other support than the king of Prussia, (who was at this time pursued by prince Charles)—under apprehensions that the queen of Hungary would force him once more to abandon Munich, his capital,—seeing himself the sport of fortune, and borne down with diseases, which his chagrin increased exceedingly,—at length sunk beneath their accumulated weight, and died at Munich on the 20th of January, 1745, aged forty-seven years and six months—leaving this lesson to the world : that the summit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle of calamity. He had only been unfortunate since he became emperor : nature, from that moment, had been more cruel to him than fortune. A complication of painful disorders rendered his misfortunes more violent by his corporal sufferings, and they jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with the gout and stone : his liver, lungs,

lungs, and stomach were found gangrened; also stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart; so that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a moment's ease for some time past. Few princes had better qualities: they served only to heighten his unhappiness; and this unhappiness arose from his having taken upon himself a burthen he was unable to bear.

The body of this unfortunate prince was exposed, dressed in the ancient Spanish fashion; an etiquette established by Charles V. although since him no emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles VII. any connexion with that nation. He was interred according to the ceremonies of the empire; and in this parade of human vanity and misery, they carried the globe of the world in procession before him, who, during the short course of his reign, could not keep possession even of one small unfortunate province; they gave him also, in some relicts, the title of invincible, a title given by ancient custom to the Imperial dignity; and which only served to give him a deeper sense of his misfortunes.

It was believed the cause of the war no longer existing, peace might be restored to Europe. The empire could not be offered to the son of Charles VII. who was only seventeen years of age. Germany flattered itself that the queen of Hungary

Hungary would be inclined to peace, as a sure means of placing her husband, the Grand Duke, on the Imperial throne; but she was resolved to seat him in it; and, at the same time, to continue the war.

The English ministry who gave the law to its allies, since it furnished them with money, and who paid at once the queen of Hungary; the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought there was something to lose by a treaty with France, and something to gain by the force of arms.

This general war was continued merely because it was begun: the object was not the same as in its origin. It was one of those diseases, which, in their progress, change their character. Flanders, which was spared before 1744, was now become the principal theatre of war, and Germany was rather an object for the exercise of the politics of France, than for military operations. The French ministry, who wished always to appoint the emperor, cast their eyes on Augustus II. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, who was in the English pay; but France was not quite in a condition to make such an offer. The Imperial throne was a dangerous acquisition for any one who did not possess Austria and Hungary. The court of France was refused: the elector of Saxony neither

ther dared to accept this honour, recede from the English, nor displease the queen. He was the second elector of Saxony who had refused to be emperor.

There remained to France no other resource but to expect from the fate of arms, the decision of so many different interests which had varied so often, and in all their variations had constantly kept all Europe in alarm.

The new elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, was the third, from father to son, whom France had supported. France had caused the grandfather to be re-established in his dominions. She had given the empire to the father, and her monarch now made a fresh effort to assist the young prince. Six thousand Hessians in his pay; three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of Germans, which had been for a long time in the French service, were already joined to the Bavarian troops, which were always in the king's pay.

That so many succours might be efficacious, it was necessary that the Bavarians should help themselves, but their destiny was to fall under the Austrians; they defended the entry into their country so badly, that in the beginning of April the new elector was obliged to abandon the same capital, that his father had been so often obliged to quit. This misfortune
of

of his house forced him, in the end, to apply even to Maria Theresa; to renounce the alliance of France, and to receive English money with the rest of the allies.

The king of France, abandoned by those for whom he had begun the war, was obliged to continue it, only with a view to put an end to it; a melancholy situation which exposes the subjects, and does not promise them any indemnification.

The course he took, was to stand on his defence in Italy and in Germany, and to act always offensively in Flanders, the ancient seat of the war; and there was not a single field in this province but was sprinkled with blood. An army towards the Maine, hindered the Austrians from acting against the king of Prussia, then the ally of France, with superior forces. Marshal Mallebois was gone from Germany to Italy; and the prince of Conti was charged with the war on the side of the Maine, which was of a different kind from that he carried on in the Alps.

The king resolved to finish, in person, the conquests in Flanders, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had married the dauphin, in the month of February, to the second infanta of Spain; and this young prince, who
was

was but just turned of sixteen, prepared to accompany his father, in the beginning of May.

CHAP. XV.

The Siege of TOURNAY. The Battle of FONTENOY.

MARSHAL Saxe was already in Flanders, at the head of an army composed of one hundred and six complete battalions, and one hundred and seventy-two squadrons. Tournay, the ancient capital of the French domains in Flanders, was already invested: it was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel was likewise one of the masterpieces of Mons. Vauban; for there was scarce a town in all Flanders to which Louis XIV. had not built fortifications.

As soon as the States General of the Seven Provinces learned that Tournay was in danger, they sent word, it was necessary to hazard a battle for the defence of the town. These Republicans, in spite of their circumspection, were at that time the first to take bold resolutions. On the fifth of May, the allies
marched

marched towards Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out from Paris with the dauphin on the sixth. The king's aid-de-camp, and the minions of his son, accompanied them.

The principal force of the enemy's army was twenty battalions, and twenty-six English squadrons, under the command of the young duke of Cumberland, who, with his royal father, had gained the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and sixteen Hanoverian squadrons were joined to the English.

The prince of Waldeck, (about the age of the duke of Cumberland, impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of forty Dutch squadrons, and twenty-six battalions. The Austrians had only eight squadrons in this army. The war was carried on for them in Flanders, which had been so long defended by the arms and money of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians, was the old general Königsegg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and Germany. His advice was to temper the ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of the prince of Waldeck. This army was reckoned to consist of above fifty-five thousand fighting men. The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, which were
posted

posted in a line, extending to the field of battle ; six thousand to guard the bridges, and their communications upon the Pescaut.

The army was under the order of a General in whom the king had justly placed the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had already merited his high reputation, by his skilful retreats in Germany, and by his campaign of 1744 ; to the practical part, he joined a profound theory, vigilance, and secrecy, the art of knowing how to alter a project in good time, and to execute it with rapidity ; presence of mind, resources, and foresight, were talents which he possessed by the general acknowledgment of all the officers ; but then this General was wasting daily, by a consumptive disorder, and was almost at death's door : he was very ill when he set out from Paris for the army. The author of this history having met him before his departure, could not forbear asking him, How he could think of going to the army hardly alive ? to which the marshal replied, I am not to think about living, but going to my duty.

The king arriving on the sixth at Douay, went the next day to Pontachin near the escout, and within the reach of the trenches at Tournay. From thence he went to reconnoitre the ground which was to be the field of battle : the whole army, at sight of the king and the dauphin,

phin, gave loud acclamations of joy: the allies passed the tenth and the eleventh in making their last dispositions. The king never shewed more gaiety than on the eve of the battle: the conversation ran upon the battles the kings of France had been present at: the monarch observed, that since the battle of Poitiers, no king of France had fought in company with his son; that no one had gained a signal victory over the English, and that he hoped to be the first. He was awakened the first on the day of action; at four o'clock he himself called up count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who immediately sent to marshal Saxe, to demand his last orders. The marshal was found in an ozier carriage, which served him for a bed, and in which he was drawn when his exhausted strength obliged him to quit his horse. The king and his son had already passed a bridge over the escant at Calonne; they went to take their post beyond the gallows de Notre Dame, in the wood, a thousand toises from this bridge, and exactly at the entry of the field of battle.

The retinue of the king and dauphin, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a croud of all sorts of people, whom curiosity had excited, and some were even mounted into trees, to have a view of the battle.

By

By casting an eye upon the maps, which are very common, any one may at first sight see the disposition of the two armies. Antoine is discoverable very near the escaut, on the right of the French army, and at nine hundred toises from the bridge of Calonne, by which the king and dauphin had advanced. The village of Fontenoy, beyond Antoine, was almost upon the same line; a narrow space, four hundred and fifty toises in length, lying between Fontenoy and a little wood, called the wood of Barri: this wood and villages were planted with cannon, like an entrenched ground. Marshal Saxe had established some redoubts between Antoine and Fontenoy; others at the extremity of the wood of Barri fortified this enclosure. The field of battle was only five hundred toises in length, from the place where the king was near the village of Fontenoy, quite to the wood of Barri, and was little more than nine hundred toises in breadth; so that they were to fight in an inclosed ground as at Dettingen, but in a more fortunate hour.

The General of the French army had provided for victory, or a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, furnished with cannon, fortified by intrenchments, and defended by some battalions, was to serve for a retreat to the king and the dauphin, in case of misfortune. The rest of
the

the army was to have filed off to the other bridges upon the lower escaut, beyond Tournay.

All the measures were taken which could mutually assist each other, without any danger of running counter to any of them. The French army seemed inaccessible ; for the cross-fire which came from the redoubts of the wood of Barri, and from the village of Fontenoy, barred all approach. Besides these precautions, they had placed six cannon, of six pounders each, on this side the escaut, to annoy the troops that might attack the village of Antoine.

At six in the morning the two armies began to cannonade each other. Marshal Noailles was at this time near Fontenoy, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of what he had done in the beginning of the night to join the village of Fontenoy to the first of the three redoubts, between Fontenoy and Antoine. He served him as first aid-de-camp, sacrificing his jealousy of command, and submitting himself to a General, who was a foreigner and a junior officer. Marshal Saxe perceived the force of this magnanimity, and never was seen so strict an union between two persons, whom the ordinary weakness of the human heart might have rendered irreconcilable enemies.

Marshal

Marſhal Noailles embraced the duke of Grammont his nephew, and they ſeparated, the one to return to the king, and the other to his poſt, when a cannon ball killed the duke of Grammont: he was the firſt victim of the day.

The Engliſh attacked Fontenoy thrice, and the Dutch preſented themſelves before Antoine. At their ſecond attack almoſt a whole ſquadron of the latter were cut off by the cannon of Antoine; only fifteen men remained, and the Hollanders never rallied afterwards.

Then the duke of Cumberland took a reſolution, which ſeemed to ſecure him the ſucceſs of the day: he ordered major general Ingolſby to enter into the wood of Barri, to penetrate to the redoubt of this wood oppoſite Fontenoy, and to take it. Ingolſby marched with the beſt troops to execute this order: he found in the wood of Barri a battalion of the regiment of a partiſan, who were called Graſſins, from the name of him who had formed them. Theſe ſoldiers had advanced into the wood beyond the redoubt, and lay upon the ground. Ingolſby thinking they were a conſiderable corps, returns to the duke, and requires ſome cannon. The favourable moment was thus loſt: the prince was amazed at a diſobedience which diſconcerted his meaſures, and puniſhed him for it afterwards
at

at London by a council of war, called a court martial.

He determined in an instant to pass between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was steep; it was necessary to clear a broken hollow road; he was obliged also to pass the fires of Fontenoy and of the redoubt. The enterprize was daring; but he was reduced at that time, either to lose the battle, or to attempt this passage.

The English and Hanoverians advanced with him almost without disordering their ranks, drawing their cannon themselves through the foot ways. His highness formed them in three very close lines of four ranks deep, advancing between the batteries which were discharged on them, into a piece of ground about four hundred toises in breadth. Whole ranks fell on the right and left; they were immediately recruited, and the cannon which they drew up opposite Fontenoy, and before the redoubts, opposed the French artillery. In this manner they marched fiercely, preceded by six pieces of artillery, and having likewise six others in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them they found four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss at their left; the regiment of Courten at their right, those of Aubeterre following behind them;

them; the king's regiment, which covered Fontenoy, extending along a hollow road.

The ground ascended from the place where the French guards were, to that where the English were formed.

The French officers directly consulted among themselves, and said one to the other, we must go and take the English cannon. They mounted rapidly with their grenadiers, but they were much astonished to find an army before them. The artillery and musquetry levelled sixty to the ground, and the rest were obliged to fall back into their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of French and Swiss guards, having likewise upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's regiment, approached the enemy. They were about fifty yards distance: a regiment of English guards, those of Campbell, and the Royal Scots were the first. Sir James Campbell was their lieutenant-general, the earl of Albemarle, major-general, and Mr. Churchill, natural grand-child of the great duke of Marlborough, their brigadier: the English officers saluted the French by pulling off their hats. The count of Chabanne, and the duke Biron, who were advanced, and all the officers of the French guards returned them the salute.

Lord Charles

Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire."

The count d'Anteroche, at that time lieutenant of the grenadiers, and afterwards captain, replied, in a high voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; fire yourselves." The English made a running fire at them, that is to say, they fired in divisions, in a manner that one battalion of four ranks deep having fired, another battalion made a discharge, and afterwards a third, while the first re-charged.

The line of French infantry did not fire thus; they consisted of a single line of four ranks, at a considerable distance from each other, and not supported by any other troops of infantry. Nineteen officers of the guards fell wounded by this single discharge: Messieurs de Clinson, de Langey, de la Peyre, lost their lives by it; ninety-five soldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven of the Swiss officers were wounded, also two hundred and nine soldiers, among which sixty-four died on the spot. Colonel Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers were killed; and fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank thus swept off, and the three others looking behind them, and not seeing but

one regiment of cavalry, at more than three hundred toises distance, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, who might have rallied them, was killed. Monsf. Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, arrived after they had given way. The English advanced slowly as if performing their exercise; the majors with their canes levelling the soldiers guns to make them fire low and strait. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps which before was in three divisions, closing by the nature of the ground, became a long and thick column, almost impregnable from its mass, and more so by its bravery, and advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. Monsf. Luttaux, first general of the army, at the news of this danger, came from Fontenoy where he had just been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp begged him to get his wound dressed, “The king’s service, (answered Monsf. Luttaux) is more dear to me than life.” He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of a regiment of Aubeterre, which was led on by its colonel of that name. Luttaux received at his arrival two mortal wounds. The duke de Biron had a horse killed under him. The regiment of Aubeterre, lost a great many of its officers and soldiers. The duke de Biron then, with the king’s regiment

gement that he commanded, stopped the march of the column by the left flank. A detached battalion of English guards upon this advanced a little towards him, made a furious discharge, and retired leisurely to replace themselves at the head of the column, which still advanced slowly without ever breaking their ranks, repulsing one after another every regiment that advanced to them.

This corps kept gaining ground, always close, and always firm. Marshal Saxe, seeing with fortitude the greatness of the danger, sent word by the marquis de Meuze to the king, that he conjured him to repass the bridge with the dauphin, and that he would do all in his power to remedy the disorder: "Oh! I am very well assured that he will perform his duty, replied the king, but I will remain where I am."

From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed, there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Marshal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English. The count d'Estres undertook it; but the efforts of this cavalry were of little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running-fire constantly kept up, necessarily dispersed little separate corps. It is indeed well known that cavalry alone can scarce

break through a close infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the middle of this fire. he was so weakened by his disorder that he could not bear a common breast-plate; he wore a sort of buckler, made of several folds of quilted taffety, which rested upon the pommel of his saddle. He threw down his buckler upon this occasion, and flew to make the second line of the cavalry advance against the column.

All the field officers were in motion: Monsf. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, went from the right to the left, Monsf. de Puisegur, Messrs. de Saint Sauveur, de Saint George, and de Meziere, deputy quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, was killed. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Aché, lieutenant-general, had his foot shattered to pieces: after which he came to report the situation of affairs to the king, and conversed with him a long time, without giving the least sign of the pains he felt, till at last he fainted away.

The more the English column advanced, the deeper it formed, and was in a condition to repair the continual losses it sustained by so many repeated attacks. The men marched close over the dead and wounded of both parties, and seemed to make one single corps of about fourteen thousand men.

A great

A great number of the cavalry were pushed in disorder close to the place where the king was with his son. These two princes were separated by the crouds of those who fled, and threw themselves in between them. During this confusion, the brigade of the body guards who were in reserve, advanced of themselves towards the enemy. The chevaliers de Suzy and de Sau-mery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of the Gendarmerie arrived almost at this moment from Douay, and notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, ran towards the enemy. All these corps were received like the other, with the same intrepidity and running fire. The young count de Chevrier, an ensign, was killed, and on the very day he had joined his company. The chevalier de Monaco, son to the duke of Valentinois, was wounded in the leg. Mons. de Guesclin received also a very dangerous wound. The carbineers gave way, having lost six officers, and had twenty-one wounded.

Marshal Saxe, who was quite exhausted, kept still on horseback, in the midst of the firing. He passed under the front of the English column, to see with his own eyes all that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. They made the same manœuvre there as on the right; but attempted in vain to break this column.

All the regiments presented themselves one after the other, and the whole body of the English faced them on all sides; placing their cannon properly, and firing by divisions. Thus they kept up a perpetual fire, when they were attacked, and after the attack left off firing, and remained immoveable. Some regiments of infantry came once more to annoy this column, by the sole orders of their commanders. Marshal Saxe saw one of them; whole ranks of which fell before the enemy, yet the rest stood their ground. He was told it was the regiment des Vaisseaux, commanded by Mons^r. de Guerchi: "How can it possibly happen, cried he, that such troops should not be victorious."

The regiment of Hainault suffered equal loss; their colonel was the son of the prince of Craon, governor of Tuscany. The father served the great duke,—the children, the king of France. This young gentleman, of whom very great hopes were formed, was killed at the head of his regiment, and his lieutenant-colonel died of his wounds, by his side. The regiment of Normandy advanced, and lost as many officers and soldiers as that of Hainault: it was led on by the lieutenant-colonel, Mons^r. de Solency, whose bravery the king particularly noticed on the field of battle, and recompenced afterwards
by

ly making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions ran to attack the column in flank, and and their colonel M. Dillon was killed: thus no corps, no attack had been found sufficient to penetrate this column, and the reason was, that nothing had been done in concert, and all at once, but each regiment had acted separately.

Marshal Saxe passed the front of the column, which was already advanced above three hundred paces behind the redoubts of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to see if Fontenoy still held out; their bullets were all spent, and they fired only with powder.

Mons. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and many of the officers were killed. The marshal begged count d'Harcourt, whom he then met, to go and conjure the king to retire, and likewise sent orders to count de la Mark, who guarded Antoine, to repair to him with the regiment of Piedmont; the battle appearing to be lost without resource. They collected together the cannon from all parts of the country; and they were on the point of taking those from Fontenoy, although the English were arrived. The intention of marshal Saxe was to make, if possible, a last effort against the English column, better directed, and more general than the former.

This body of infantry was greatly weakened, notwithstanding its depth appeared still the same ; they were even astonished to find themselves in the midst of the French without any cavalry : they seemed to remain immovable, and no longer under orders ; but they kept up a good face, and appeared to be masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had passed between the redoubts, which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine ; if they had given proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor probably for the king and the dauphin. The success of a last attack was uncertain : marshal Saxe, who saw that victory, or an entire defeat, depended upon this final assault, endeavoured to prepare a sure retreat ; he sent a second order to the count de la Mark to evacuate Antoine, and to advance to the bridge of Calonne to cover that retreat in case of a total defeat*. He sent a third order

* Those who at their leisure read the accounts of the ancient battles of Arbelle, of Zama, of Cannæ, and of Pharsalia, will scarcely comprehend the nature of modern battles. In those times the combatants closed ; arrows were only the prelude ; the contest was who should penetrate into the opposite ranks ; strength of body, address, and alertness were every thing. They intermingled, and a battle consisted of a multitude of single combats ; in which

order to the count, (since duke de Lorges) making him responsible for the execution of it; the count de Lorges obeyed with regret, for the success of the day was despaired of at this time.

A very tumultuous council of war was held very near the king, and he was intreated in the name of the General, and in the name of all France, not to expose himself any longer.

The duke de Richelieu, lieutenant-general, and aid-de-camp to the king, arrived at this instant. He had just been reconnoitring the column near Fontenoy. Having also rode up and down on all sides, he presented himself, out of breath, sword-in-hand, and covered with dust. What news do you bring, says the marshal? What is your opinion? My news, replied the duke de Richelieu, is, "That victory
" is in our power; and my opinion is, that we
" should order four pieces of cannon, in an instant, to be pointed against the front of the
" column, and that, while the artillery makes
" it give way, the king's household, and the
" other troops should surround it: we must fall
" upon it like foragers." The king was the first who approved this idea.

which there was less noise, but more slaughter. The manner of fighting now is as different as that of fortifying and of attacking towns.

Twenty persons were detached: the duke de Péquigni, (called afterwards the duke de Chaunes) went to point the four pieces, which were placed directly opposite the English column: the duke de Richelieu rode full speed, in the king's name, to order his household to march; he gave this order to *Monf. de Montesson* who commanded them: the prince of Soubise re-assembled his *gensdarmes*; the duke of Chaunes his light horse: all these formed themselves and marched; four squadrons of the *gensdarmes* advanced on the right of the king's household; the horse grenadiers were at the head, under *Monf. de Grille* their captain; the musqueteers, commanded by *Monf. de Jumillac*, quickly joined them.

In this important moment, count d'Eu, and the duke of Biron at the right, saw with regret the troops at Antoine quit their post, according to the positive order of marshal Saxe. "I will be answerable for their disobedience, said the duke of Biron to them; I am sure the king will approve it, especially in an instant when the face of affairs is going to change. I am positive that marshal Saxe will think well of it." The marshal arriving at the place, and being informed of the king's resolution, and the willingness of the troops, readily yielded to the measure:—he could change his opinion when
it

it was needful. He made the regiment of Piedmont re-enter Antoine, and, in spite of his weakness, conveyed himself rapidly from the right to the left, towards the Irish brigades, recommending to all the troops as he passed them to make no more false fires, but to act in concert.

The duke of Biron, count d'Estée, the marquis de Croissy, and count de Lowendhal, lieutenant-generals, directed these new attacks. Five squadrons of Penthièvre followed Mons. de Croissy, and his sons : the regiments of Chabillant, de Brancas, de Brionne, Aubeterre and Courten hastened there, led on by their colonels : the regiment of Normandy, and the carbineers, at last penetrated through the first ranks of the column, and revenged the death of their comrades slain in their first attack : the Irish seconded them : the column was attacked at once in the front and both flanks.

In seven or eight minutes this formidable corps was opened on all sides ; general Posenby, brother to the earl of Albemarle, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were killed. The English rallied, but were obliged to retire ; and they quitted the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were conquered with honour.

The

The king of France went from regiment to regiment; the cries of victory, and long live the king,—the hats thrown up in the air,—the standards and colours pierced with balls,—the reciprocal felicitations of the officers, who embraced each other, formed a scene of tumultuous joy, in which all were engaged. The king alone remained tranquil; testifying his satisfaction, and making his acknowledgments to all the general officers, and to the commanders of every corps; ordering great care to be taken of the wounded, and to treat his enemies as his own subjects.

Marshal Saxe, in the middle of this triumph, went to the king; he found strength enough to embrace his knees, and to say, “Sire, I have
“lived long enough; I have not wished to
“survive this day, but to see your majesty vic-
“torious. You see, added he, on what all
“battles depend.” The king lifted him up, and embraced him tenderly.

To the duke of Richelieu, he said, “I shall
“never forget the important services that you
“have done me;” he said the same to the duke of Biron. Marshal Saxe then addressed the king in these terms: “Sire, I must confess I reproach
“myself for one fault; I should have placed
“another redoubt between the wood of Barri-
and Fontenoy; but I could not believe there
“were

“ were generals bold enough to attempt a passage
“ at that place.”

The allies lost nine thousand men, among which there were about two thousand five hundred prisoners. They took scarcely any from the French.

By the exact account given to the major of the French infantry, they found only sixteen hundred and eighty-one soldiers or serjeants of the infantry killed; and three thousand two hundred and eighty-two wounded. Among the officers, only fifty-three were found dead upon the field of battle; three hundred and twenty-three were dangerously wounded. The cavalry lost about eighteen hundred men.

Since the commencement of wars, never was so much care taken to alleviate the distress of this cruel scourge. Hospitals were prepared in all the neighbouring towns, but principally at Lille; even the churches were employed to a use so worthy of them; not only no necessary assistance, but even no conveniences were wanting, either for the French, or for their wounded prisoners. The zeal of the citizens went even too far; they constantly kept bringing to both parties nourishing food from all quarters, till the physicians of the hospitals were obliged to put a check to this dangerous excess of kindness. In a word, the hospitals were so well served,
that

that almost all the officers chose rather to be waited on there, than at private houses, which had never been known before.

We have entered into the particulars of the battle of Fontenoy alone. Its importance; and the danger of the king and the dauphin required it. This action decided the fortune of the war, laid the foundation of the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a balance to all former unfortunate events. What farther renders this battle for ever memorable, is, that it was gained when the General, exhausted and almost expiring, could act no longer. Marshal Saxe made the disposition, and the French officers carried the victory*.

CHAP.

* We are obliged to take notice, that in a history of this war, full as large as it is partial, published in London in four volumes, it is asserted, that the French took no care of their wounded prisoners; and likewise, that the duke of Cumberland sent to the king of France a chest of chewed balls, and bits of glass, which they found in the wounds of the English.

The authors of these puerile relations certainly think that these chewed bullets are a poison. It is an ancient prejudice, as weakly founded as that of the white powder. It is said in this history, that the French lost nineteen thousand men in the battle; that their king was not there; that he did not pass the bridge of Calonne, but remained always behind the escout; in short, it is said,
that

CHAP. XVI.

Consequences of the Battle of FONTENAY.

WHAT is as remarkable as this victory, is, that the first care of the king of France was to write the same day to the abbé de la Ville, his minister at the Hague, signifying, that he desired to reap no other fruit from his conquests but the pacification of Europe; and that he was ready to send his plenipotentiaries to a congress. . The States General were surprized, and greatly suspected the sincerity of the king's offer; and what astonished them more was, that the offer was eluded by the English, and the queen of Hungary. This queen, who was at once engaged in a

that the parliament of Paris issued out an arret, which, condemned to prison, to banishment, and to the punishment of whipping, all who should publish accounts of this battle. We know well enough, that such extravagant impostures are not worthy of being refuted. But since there are to be found in England, men sufficiently deprived of good sense, and knowledge, to write such singular absurdities as this history abounds with, they may also find readers capable of believing them; it is but just, therefore, that we prevent their credulity.

war in Silesia against the king of Prussia : in Italy against the French, the Spaniards, and Neapolitans ; and on the Maine against the French army, to all appearance, ought to have demanded a peace herself, which her circumstances almost obliged her to ; but the English court, which governed all, would not consent to it :—vengeance and prejudices influence courts as well as private people.

In the mean time, the king sent M. de la Tour, an aid-major of the army, and a very intelligent officer, to carry the news of the victory to the king of Prussia, who met the king at the bottom of Lower Silesia, on the side of Ratibon, in the defile of a mountain, near a village called Friedbourg. There he saw this monarch obtain a signal victory over the Austrians. The Prussian monarch sent the following notice of it to his ally the king of France ; “ The bill of exchange which you
“ drew upon me at Fontenoy, I have paid at
“ Friedbourg.”

The king of France on his side, had all the advantages the victory of Fontenoy could give. The town and citadel of Tournay surrendered in a few days after the battle. Marshal Saxe had secretly concerted with the king, the taking of Ghent, the capital of Austrian Flanders ; a town
but

but thinly inhabited, tho' rich and flourishing, from the remains of its ancient splendor.

The exploits which did the greatest honour to the marquis de Louvois, in one of the campaigns of the war of 1689, was the siege of Ghent. He had determined upon this siege, because it was the enemy's magazine. Louis XV. had just the same reason to make himself master of it. According to custom, every motion which could deceive the enemy's army, (now retired towards Brussels) was made; some measures were taken also, that the marquis du Chaila on one side, and the count de Lowendahl on the other, might appear before Ghent at one and the same hour. The garrison consisted at that time of only six hundred men; the inhabitants were enemies to the French, though at all times they were greatly dissatisfied under the Austrian government; but very different in point of bravery, from what they were when they composed an army of themselves.

These two secret marches were made under the General's direction, but were on the point of miscarrying, by one of those events so common in war.

The English, although conquered at Fontenoy, were neither dispersed nor discouraged. They saw from the environs of Brussels, where they were posted, the evident danger with which
Ghent

Ghent was threatened ; in fine, they ordered a body of six thousand mtn to march to the defence of this city. This corps advanced towards Ghent, upon the causeway of Alost, precisely at the time that *Monf. du Chaila* was only at a league distance upon the same causeway, marching with three brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry, composed of the regiments of *Normandy*, *Crillon*, and *Laval*, twenty pieces of cannon, and a number of boats. The artillery was already in the front, guarded by fifty men, and behind was *Monf. Grassin*, with a party of light troops. It was night, and every thing quiet, when the six thousand English arrived, and attacked the *Grassins*; they had just time to shelter themselves in a farm-house, near the abby of *Mêle*, from whence this battle has taken its name. The English being informed that the French were upon the causeway, at a distance from their artillery, which was guarded only by fifty men, they marched and took it. The *marquiss de Crillon*, who was already advanced within three hundred paces of them, saw the English become masters of the cannon, which they turned against him, and were going to discharge: he very calmly formed his determination in an instant, and lost not a moment to execute it; he pushed on with his regiment towards the enemy on one side,

while

while the young marquiss of Laval advanced with another battalion; they retook the cannon and then halted. During the time that the marquiss of Crillon and de Laval thus checked the English, a single company of Normandy, which were near the abby, defended themselves against them.

Two battalions of Normandy arrived in haste. The young count of Perigord commanded them: he was son to the marquiss of Faillerand, (of a house which had been sovereign) unfortunately slain before Tournay, and had just obtained, at seventeen years of age, this Norman regiment, which his father had commanded before him: he advanced at first, at the head of a company of grenadiers; the English battalion attacked by him, threw down their arms.

Messrs. du Chaila and de Souvré appeared very soon after upon the road with the cavalry. The English were stopped on all sides, and still defended themselves. The marquiss de Gravelle was wounded; but at length they were entirely routed.

M. d'Azincourt, a Norman captain, with only forty men, made the lieutenant-colonel of Rich's regiment prisoner, with eight captains, and two hundred and eighty soldiers, who threw down their arms, and surrendered.

Nothing

Nothing could equal their surprize, when they saw that they had surrendered to forty Frenchmen only. M. d'Azincourt conducted his prisoners to M. de Graville, holding the point of his sword to the English lieutenant-colonel's breast, and threatened to kill him, if his soldiers made the least resistance.

Another Norman captain, M. de Montalambert, with fifty of his soldiers, took an hundred and fifty English; three squadrons of cavalry were put to flight near the end of the action, by a number nearly equal to the former, commanded by M. de Saint Sauveur, captain of the king's regiment of cavalry; in short, the strange success of this battle, did, perhaps, the greatest honour to the French, of any in all this campaign, and struck their enemies with the greatest consternation. What still characterises this day, is, that this battle, as well as that of Fontenoy, was gained by the presence of mind and courage of the French officers.

They arrived before Ghent just at the time fixed by marshal Saxe; they entered the town sword-in-hand without plundering it, and the garrison with the citadel were taken prisoners.

One of the extraordinary advantages reaped from the possession of this town, was, the gaining of an immense magazine of ammunition, provisions,

vifions, forage, arms, and cloaths, which the allies had deposited in Ghent: this was a small indemnification for the expences of the war, which had been before as unfortunate as it was now glorious, under the eye of the king.

At the same time that the citadel of Ghent was taken, Oudenarde was also invested; and the marquifs de Souvré made himself master of Bruges, the same day that M. de Lowendhal opened the trenches before Oudenarde, which surrendered after three days.

Scarcely was the king of France master of one town, than he caused two to be besieged. The duke d'Harcourt took Dendermonde, two days after opening the trenches, notwithstanding the sluices made a general inundation; at the same time count de Lowendhal laid siege to Ostend.

This siege was reckoned the most difficult: it was remembered that Ostend sustained a siege of three years and three months, at the beginning of the last century. By a comparison of the plan of the fortifications of this place, with those existing when it was taken by Spinola, it appeared, that Spinola ought to have taken it in fifteen days, and M. de Lowendhal to have been before it three years, the fortifications were now so much superior. M. de Chanclos, lieutenant-

tenant-general of the Austrian army, defended it, with a garrison of four thousand men, one half of which were English; but the terror and dismay was so great, at the signal successes of the French, that the governor capitulated, as soon as the marquis d'Herouville, a man worthy of being at the head of the engineers, and equally useful as a good citizen and an officer, had taken the covered way, called the cat-guard, on the side of the Downs.

An English fleet which brought succours to the town, and cannonaded the besiegers, came there only to be witnesses of its being taken. This loss threw the English court, and the United Provinces into great consternation.

Nieuport was the only place remaining, to complete the conquest of all the province of Flanders, and the king ordered it to be besieged.

In this situation of affairs, the English ministry began to reflect that the French had the superiority of prisoners. The detaining marshal Belleisle and his brother, had totally suspended the cartel. These two Generals had been taken prisoners, in violation of the law of nations, and they set them at liberty without ransom. In effect, they could have no pretence to demand any, after having declared them

them state prisoners; and it was the interest of England to get the cartel restored.

In the mean time, the king departed for Paris, where he arrived the seventh of September 1745. No addition could be made to the reception that had been given him the preceding year. The same festivals and rejoicings took place; but they had besides to celebrate the victories of Fontenoy and of Mèlè, and the conquest of the province of Flanders.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of GERMANY. FRANCIS of LORRAIN,
Grand Duke of TUSCANY, elected Emperor.
The Armies of AUSTRIA and SAXONY de-
feated by FREDERIC III. King of PRUSSIA.
The taking of DRESDEN.

THE success of Louis XV. increased daily in the Low Countries; the superiority of his armies, the facility of the service in every respect, the dispersion and discouragement of the allies, their disunion, and above all, the capacity of marshal Saxe, who, having recovered his health, acted with more activity than ever, all these circumstances combined, formed a chain of uninterrupted success, which has no example, except the conquests of Louis XIV. Every thing was favourable also in Italy for Don Philip. An astonishing revolution in England already endangered the throne of George II. as will be seen hereafter; but the queen of Hungary enjoyed another glory and another advantage, which cost no blood, and accomplished her chief and most desirable object: she never lost hopes of placing the im-

perial

perial crown upon the head of her husband, even in the life-time of Charles VII. and after the death of this emperor, she believed herself sure of it, notwithstanding the king of Prussia was at war with her, that the elector Palatine refused his consent, and a French army, which lay near Francfort, might obstruct the election. This was the army commanded at first by marshal Maillebois, and which, since the beginning of May 1745, had been under the orders of the prince de Conti ; but twenty thousand men had been drawn from it to increase the army at Fontenoy. The prince could not prevent the junction of all the troops, which the queen of Hungary had in this part of Germany, and which came and covered Frankfort, where the election was made as quietly, as if in time of peace.

Thus France failed in the great object of the war, which was to deprive the house of Austria of the imperial throne. The election was made September 13, 1745. The king of Prussia, by his ambassadors, declared the election to be void. The elector Palatine, whose countries had been ravaged by the Austrian armies, entered a protest to the same purport. The electoral ambassadors of these two princes retired from Frankfort ; but this made no alteration in the form of the election, because it is said

in the golden bull, “ That if the electors, or
 “ their ambassadors, retire from the place of
 “ election before the king of the Romans, the
 “ future emperor is elected, they shall be de-
 “ prived of their right of suffrage for that time,
 “ as being judged to have abandoned it.”

The queen of Hungary, (now empress) came to Frankfort to enjoy her triumph, the coronation of her husband. She saw from the balcony the ceremony of the entry, and was the first that cried, *Long live the emperor!* and all the people answered with acclamations of joy and affection. This was the happiest day of her life; afterwards she went to see her army, ranged in order of battle near Hiedelberg, to the number of sixty thousand men. The emperor, her spouse, received her sword-in-hand, at the head of the army. She passed between the lines, saluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be distributed to every soldier.

It was the fate of this princess, and of the affairs that disturbed her reign, that the most lucky events were balanced on all sides by equal disgraces. The emperor Charles VII. lost Bavaria, at the time they were crowning him emperor; and the queen of Hungary lost a battle while she was preparing the coronation of her husband, Francis I. The king of Prussia was
 again

again victor at Soré, near the source of the Elbe.

There are times when a nation constantly preserves its superiority : this has been evinced in the Swedes, under Charles XII. in the English, under the duke of Marlborough ; in the French in Flanders, under Louis XV. and marshal Saxe, and in the Prussians, under Frederic III. The empress lost Flanders, and had much to fear from the king of Prussia in Germany, at the time that she had seated her husband on the throne of her father.

At this very time, when the king of France, conqueror in Italy, and the Low Countries, was constantly proposing peace, the king of Prussia, victorious on his side, demanded also the mediation of Elizabeth, empress of Russia. — Conquerors were never yet seen to make so many overtures, and it was very astonishing ; but at present it is dangerous to be too victorious. All the powers of Europe, sooner or later, will take arms when there is one in motion : nothing is to be seen but leagues and counter-leagues, supported by numerous armies : there is now great difficulty, through the circumstances of the times, to keep a conquered province.

In the midst of these great perplexities, an unprecedented offer of a mediation was received, which could not be expected ; this was from the

Grand Turk. His prime minister wrote to all the Christian courts which were at war, and exhorted them to cease the effusion of human blood, and offered them the mediation of his master. Such an offer had no consequences ; but at least it ought to have served to make so many Christian powers recollect themselves, who had begun a war through interest, continued it through obstinacy, and would finish it only through necessity. Besides, this mediation of the sultan of the Turks, was offered in return for the peace that the king of France had accomplished between the emperor of Germany, Charles VI. and the Ottoman Porte, in 1739.

The king of Prussia took other measures to establish an union, and to keep Silesia. His troops completely beat the Austrians and Saxons at the gates of Dresden. It was the famous old prince of Anhalt who gained this decisive victory ; he had been a warrior fifty years, and was the first that entered into the lines of the French army at Turin in 1707. For conducting the infantry, he was esteemed the most experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the last that filled up the measure of his military glory ; the only glory which he had enjoyed, for fighting was his only province.

The king of Prussia, dextrous in more respects than one, shut up the town of Dresden on all sides. He entered it, followed by ten battalions and ten squadrons, disarmed three regiments of the militia which composed the garrison; went to the palace, where he visited the two princes, and the three princesses, the children of the king of Poland, who resided in it; he embraced them, and shewed them all the marks of tenderness and regard, which might be expected from the most polite man of his age.

He ordered the shops and warehouses, which had been shut up, to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign ministers; had an Italian opera played; in fine, it was scarcely perceptible that the town was in the power of the conqueror, and the surrender of Dresden was signalized only by the entertainments this monarch gave there.

But what was still more surprising, he entered Dresden only on the 18th of December 1746, and made a peace there, with Austria and Saxony on the 25th of the same month, leaving all the weight of the war upon the king of France.

Maria Theresa, in this second peace, renounced, with reluctance, her pretensions to Silesia; and Frederic gave her no other ad-

vantage, than the acknowledgment of Francis I. for emperor. The elector Palatine, as a contracting party in the treaty, acknowledged the same; and it cost the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, only one million of crowns, German money, which he was to give to the conqueror, with interest to the day of payment.

The king of Prussia returned to Berlin to enjoy peace, the fruit of his victory; he was received under triumphal arches, the people throwing branches of fir-trees before him, instead of better, and crying, *Long live Frederic the Great!* This prince, successful both in his wars and in his treaties, now applied himself solely to perfecting the laws, and the encouragement of arts in his dominions. He passed all of a sudden from the tumults of war, to a philosophical retirement; he closely applied himself to poetry, to eloquence and history; an attention to these studies form a part of his character: in this respect he is more famous than Charles XII. He never considered Charles as a great man, because he was only an hero. We have not entered here into any detail of the victories of the king of Prussia; he has written them himself:—"Cæsar alone could write his own commentaries."

The king of France, deprived a second time of this important succour, still continued his conquests.

conquests. The object of the war, now, on the part of France, was, to force the queen of Hungary, by her losses in Flanders, to cede what she disputed in Italy, and to oblige the States General to return again to that neutrality from which they had departed.

The queen of Hungary wanted to make retaliation upon France, for the loss she had sustained by the victories of the king of Prussia; this project, acknowledged afterwards by the court of England to be impracticable, was then approved of, and embraced accordingly;—for there are seasons when all the world are blind. The empire given to Francis I. encouraged them to think that the circles would determine to take up arms against France; and the court of Vienna spared no pains to engage them to this step.

The empire constantly remained neuter, as all Italy had done at the beginning of this chaos of war; but the hearts of the Germans were with Maria Theresa.

CHAP. XVIII.

Continuation of the Conquest of the AUSTRIAN
LOW COUNTRIES. Battle of LIEGE.

THE king of France, being set out for Paris, after the taking of Ostend, was informed upon the road, that Nieuport had surrendered, and that the garrison were made prisoners of war, just after the count de Clermont Gallerande had taken the town of Aeth. Marshal Saxe invested Brussels in the beginning of the winter. This city, it is well known, is the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands. The count de Caunitz commanded in this city as prime minister, acting in the room of prince Charles, governor-general of the Low Countries. The count de Lanoy, lieutenant-general of the queen's armies, was governor of the garrison. General Vanderduin, on the part of the Dutch, commanded eighteen battalions and seven squadrons of their forces; there were no Austrian troops, except one hundred and fifty dragoons, and as many hussars. The empress queen confided in the English and Dutch, for the defence of these countries; and they
always

always bore the burden of the war in Flanders. Field-marshal Los Rios, the two princes of Ligne, the one a General of infantry, and the other of cavalry. General Chanclos, who had surrendered Ostend; five Austrian lieutenant-generals, with a croud of nobility, were besieged in this capital, where the queen of Hungary, had, in effect, a great many more officers than foldiers.

The shattered remains of the enemy's army were retired towards Meehlin, under the prince of Waldeck, and could not oppose the siege; marshal Saxe having suddenly ordered his army to march in four columns, by four different roads. In this siege, no person of distinction was lost, except the chevalier d'Aubeterre, colonel of the regiment de Vaisseaux. The garrison, with all the general officers, were made prisoners. Count de Caunitz, the prime minister, could not be taken, yet they had a greater right to seize him, than the Hanoverians had to seize marshal Belleisle. The resident of the States General also was in their power, but they not only left them both at full liberty, but took particular care of their effects and attendants, and furnished them with escorts; and they sent to prince Charles, all his equipages and domestics which were found in the town, and

also deposited in the magazines, all the arms of the military, in readiness for an exchange.

The king, who had so many advantages over the Hollanders, and above thirty thousand of their troops prisoners of war, in a manner governed this republic. The States General found themselves in a perplexed situation ; the storm was approaching them, and they were sensible of their weakness. The magistracy were desirous of peace, but the English party, who had already taken every possible measure that could place a stadtholder at the head of this republic, being seconded by the people, insisted upon a continuation of the war. The states, thus divided, acted without principle, and their conduct announced their confusion.

The general panic and division redoubled in the United Provinces, when they were informed, at the opening of the campaign, that the king was marching in person towards Antwerp, at the head of one hundred and twenty battalions, and one hundred and ninety squadrons. Formerly when the republic of Holland established itself by force of arms, she destroyed all the grandeur of Antwerp, which was then the greatest commercial city of all Europe, prohibited the navigation of the escaut, and afterwards aggravated its fallen state, especially since the alliance of the States with the house of Austria. Neither
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the emperor Leopold, Charles VI. nor the empress queen, his daughter, ever had any other vessel upon the escaut than one custom-house bark to collect the duties of import and export. But notwithstanding the States General had humbled Antwerp to this degree, and ruined its merchants, yet the Hollanders regarded it as a rampart to their country, this rampart was soon broken.

The prince of Conti had under his command a separate body of the army, with which he invested Mone, the capital of Austrian Hanault; twelve battalions which defended it, serving to increase the number of prisoners of war, half of them being Dutch. The Austrians never lost so many places, nor the Dutch so many soldiers as in this war. St. Guillon shared the same fate, and that of Charleroy followed; the Lower Town was taken by assault, the trenches being opened only two days. The marquis (afterwards marshal) de la Fare, took possession of Charleroy upon the same conditions as the other towns that had made any resistance; that is, the garrison were made prisoners. The grand project was to go to Maastricht, from whence they could easily command the United Provinces; but, to leave nothing behind in Flanders, it was necessary to lay siege to the important town of Namur. Prince Charles, who

at that time, commanded the army, made every possible effort to prevent the siege, but in vain.

Namur is **situated** on the conflux of the Sambre, and the Meuse ; the citadel is built upon a steep rock ; and twelve other forts upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seem to render it inaccessible to any attack : it is one of the barrier towns. The prince de Gavres was governor for the empress queen ; but the Dutch, who were in garrison, neither paid him obedience nor respect. The environs of this town are celebrated by the marches, and encampments of marshal de Luxembourg, marshal de Boufflers, and king William ; and are also not less famous for the manœuvres of marshal Saxe. He forced prince Charles to depart the town, and leave him at liberty to besiege it.

The prince de Clermont had the charge of the siege of Namur, which was, in effect, to take twelve places ; he, therefore, ordered several of the forts to be attacked at once. Mons. Brulart, aid-major-general, placed the prisoners behind the grenadiers in a work which they had taken, and promised them double pay, if they would execute their work with diligence, which they did with more speed than was expected, and refused any advanced pay.

I cannot enter into a minute account of the remarkable actions which passed at this, and all
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the other sieges. There are few events of war wherein the officers and soldiers do not perform such surprising acts of valour, as even astonish those who are witnesses of them, and which afterwards are buried for ever in oblivion. If a general, a prince, or a monarch had performed one of these actions, they would have been consecrated to posterity; but their multitude soon renders them forgotten; and in all kinds of transactions the principal only remain in the memory of mankind. However, fort Ballard, taken in the open day by three officers only, must not be passed over in silence: M. de Lauenai, aid-major, M. d'Aumere, captain in the regiment of Champagne, and M. de Clamouze, a young Portuguese of the same regiment, leaping singly into the trenches, made the garrison lay down their arms.

The trenches were opened before Namur on the 10th of September, and the town capitulated on the 19th. By the article of capitulation, the garrison, consisting of twelve battalions, ten of which were Dutch, were obliged to retire into the citadel, and some other castles; and, at the end of eleven days, fresh articles were drawn, in which they were all made prisoners of war.

After the taking of Namur, it remained either to disperse or beat the allied army, which was encamped,

encamped, at that time, on this side the Meuse, having Maestricht at the right, and Liege on the left. The two armies observed each other's motions, and had many skirmishes for several days ; the Jar dividing them.

Marshal Saxe, intending to come to an engagement, marched towards the enemy on the 11th of October, at the break of day, in ten columns. The two armies were seen from the suburbs of Liege, as from an amphitheatre ; the French were an hundred and twenty thousand strong, and the allies only eighty thousand. The enemy extended along the Meuse, from Liege to Viset, behind five fortified villages. The present method of attacking an army is the same as that of a town, battering it with cannon.

The allies had to fear, that after being driven from these villages, they could not pass the river : thus they risked their total destruction, which was what marshal Saxe wished for. The only general officer that the French lost in this engagement, was the marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the immortal archbishop of Cambray. He was brought up under the care of his uncle, and possessed all his virtues ; though in a character quite different. Twenty years embassy to Holland, did not extinguish a military ardour, and a thirst for glory, which cost him his life.

life. Having been wounded in the foot forty years before, and scarce able to walk, he rushed upon the intrenchments of the enemy on horse-back ;—he sought death, and he found it. His extraordinary piety augmented his intrepidity : he thought that the most pleasing action in the sight of God was to die for his sovereign. It must be acknowledged, that an army composed of men, who should embrace this opinion, would be invincible. The French had but few persons of distinction wounded in this battle. The son of count de Segur, received a ball in his breast, which was immediately extracted from the spinal bone ; and he survived, by an operation more severe than the wound itself. The marquiss de Lujac, had his jaw-bone broke, his tongue cut, and both his cheeks pierced by a musket-shot. The marquiss de Laval, who distinguished himself at Mêle, the prince of Monaco, the marquiss de Vaubecour, and the count de Charleroy, were likewise dangerously wounded.

This battle was only blood spilt in vain, and one calamity more : for both parties neither gained nor lost ground, and each took their former quarters. The beaten army advanced even close to Tongres ; the victorious one passed by way of Louvain, into the midst of their conquests, and retired to enjoy the sweets of a repose, which the season commonly requires in these

these countries, to wait the return of the spring, in order to renew those cruelties and misfortunes which the winter only suspended.

C H A P. XIX.

SUCCESS of the Infant DON PHILIP, and Marshal MAILLEBOIS, followed by great Disasters.

IN Italy, and towards the Alps, the face of affairs was very different, and an extraordinary scene passed there at this time. The most sorrowful reverse of fortune had succeeded to the most rapid success: the house of France lost more in Italy than they had gained in Flanders; and these losses seemed to be more irreparable than their success in Flanders appeared useful, because the establishment of Don Philip was then the true object of the war. If they were conquered in Italy, they had no resource left for this establishment; and it was in vain to have conquered in Flanders, for they were sensible that, sooner or later, they must give up their conquests, and that they were only as a pledge, or a transient surety, to indemnify them for the losses they might sustain elsewhere. The circles of Germany remained neuter, and every thing was in tranquility upon the borders of the Rhine:

Rhine : in effect, Spain was become the principal party in the war ; by sea and by land, the war was carried on solely for her, and she never lost sight of Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese. Of so many dominions disputed with the heiress of the house of Austria, there remained only these provinces of Italy, to which any claims could be laid.

Since the foundation of the monarchy, this war was the only one, in which France was barely an auxiliary : she was no more, in the cause of the emperor Charles VII. to the time of his death ; and in that of the infant Don Philip, till the peace.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1745, in Italy, appearances were as favourable for France, as they were for Austria in 1741. The roads were open to the French and Spanish armies, by the way of Genoa. This republic, forced by the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, to declare war against them, had, at last, made a definitive treaty with France and Spain : they were to furnish about eighteen thousand men. The Spaniards gave them thirty thousand piastres a month, and one hundred thousand at one payment, for the use of the artillery, with which they furnished a Spanish army ; for, in this long and variegated war, the wealthy and powerful states always kept the others in pay.

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Don Philip's army, which descended with the French from the Alps, joined to the Genoese troops, was reputed to consist of eighty thousand men ; that of count de Gages, who had pursued the Germans to the environs of Rome, advanced, and with the Neapolitan army was about thirty thousand strong. This was just at the time that the king of Prussia, operating on the side of Saxony, and the prince of Conti, on the Rhine, prevented the Austrian forces from succouring Italy. The Genoese even had the boldness to declare war, in form, against the king of Sardinia. The design was, that the Spanish and Neapolitan army should join the French and Spanish forces in the Milanese.

About the month of March 1745, the duke of Modena and count de Gages, at the head of the Spanish and Neapolitan army, had pursued the Austrians from the environs of Rome to Rimini, from Rimini to Cesene, from Cesene to Imola, from Imola to Forli, from Forli to Bologna, and at last quite to Modena.

Marshal Maillebois, a pupil of the celebrated Villars, appointed captain-general of Don Philip's army, arrived soon after, by the way of Vintimiglia and Oneglia, and came down towards Montferrat, about the end of June, at the head of the Spaniards and French.

From

From the small principality of Oneglia, there is a descent into the marquissate of Final, which is at the extremity of the territory of Genoa, and is the entrance into Mantuan-Montferrat, a country hedged in with rocks, which are a continuation of the Alps. After having marched through valleys between these rocks, the fertile country of Alexandria presents itself; and the direct road to Milan, is from Alexandria to Tortona. Some miles farther is the passage of the Po; next Pavia appears upon the Tesino; and from Pavia it is but a day's journey to the famous city of Milan, which is not fortified, and always sends the keys to whomsoever passes the Tesino; but which has a very strong castle, capable of making a vigorous and long resistance.

To seize on this country, it is only necessary to make forced marches: to keep a sharp look-out is expedient to the right and left, over a vast extent of country; also to be master of the course of the Po, from Casal to Cremona, and to guard the Oglio, a river which falls from the Alps of the Tirol, or at least to be in possession of Lodi, Crema, and Pizzighitona, in order to block up the road against the Germans, who may arrive from Trentin this way. In fine, a free communication must be had behind these places with the river of Genoa; that is to say, with the
strait

strait road which runs by the side of the sea from Antibes to Monaco, and Vintimiglia, in order to have a sure retreat in case of misfortune. All the posts of this country are known and distinguished by as many battles as the territory of Flanders.

At the end of the year 1745, the French and Spaniards were masters of Montferrat, of Alexandria, of the Tortonese, of the country behind Genoa, that is called the Imperial Fiefs of the Lomeline, of the Pavese, of the Lodésan, of Milan, of almost all the Milanese, and of Parma and Placentia. All these successes followed rapidly, like those of the king of France in the Low Countries, and of prince Edward in Scotland; while the king of Prussia, on his part, beat the Austrian troops in Lower Germany. But in Italy, precisely the same thing happened as in Bohemia at the beginning of this war:—the most favourable appearances covered the greatest calamities.

The intentions of the king of Prussia in making war, were to annoy the house of Austria as much as possible; in making peace, to do as much mischief to that of France: the peace of Breslau lost her Bohemia, and that of Dresden, Italy.

Scarce was the empress queen a second time rid of this enemy, than she sent fresh troops into Italy,

Italy, by the Tirol and the Trentin, during the winter 1746. The infant Don Philip was in possession of Milan ; but not the castle. His mother, the queen of Spain, ordered him positively to attack it. Marshal Maillebois wrote thus in the month of December 1745 : “ I foresee a total destruction, if we obstinately remain in the Milanese.” The Spanish council persisted in it, and all was lost.

The troops of the empress queen on one side, and the Piedmontese on the other, gained ground every where. The surrender of places, and redoubled losses, greatly diminished the combined armies of France and Spain ; and, at last, the fatal battle of Placentia, reduced them to leave Italy with difficulty, and in a deplorable condition.

The prince of Lichtenstein commanded the army of the empress queen. He was yet in the flower of his age : in his early youth, he was sent ambassador, from the father of this empress, to the court of France, where he acquired universal esteem. He merited still more, by his conduct and courage, at the battle of Plaisance ; for finding himself in the same state of sickness and languor, which marshal Saxe laboured under at Fontenoy, he surmounted, like him, the excess of his disorder, to fly to the battle, and he gained as complete a victory. This battle was
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the longest, and most bloody, of all the war : marshal Maillebois began the attack three hours before day, and remained conqueror a long time at the right wing, which he commanded ; but the left wing of the army being surrounded by a superior number of Austrians, and general Arambourre wounded, and taken prisoner ; it was entirely defeated, and after nine hours combat, the marshal was obliged to retire under Placentia.

If the antient method of close fighting were in practice, a scuffle of nine hours, battalion against battalion, squadron against squadron, and man to man, would destroy whole armies, and Europe would have been depopulated by the prodigious number of battles that have been fought in our days ; but in these battles, as I have already remarked, they seldom close. Muskets and cannon are less destructive than the pike or the sword were formerly. They are a long time even without firing, and in the enclosed country of Italy, where they fire through hedges, a great deal of time is lost in seizing a trifling post, in pointing the cannon, in forming and reforming :—thus nine hours of battle, are not so many hours of continual destruction !

The loss of the Spaniards, of the French, and some Neapolitan regiments amounted, however, to upwards of eight thousand men, killed
and

and wounded. At last, the army of the king of Sardinia arrived, and then the danger was doubled ; for the whole army of the three powers of France, Spain, and Naples ran the risque of being made prisoners.

At this unfortunate juncture, the infant, Don Philip, received a piece of news, which, according to all appearances, was to fill up the measure of his misfortunes. This was the death of his father, Philip V. king of Spain : this monarch, after having undergone many reverses of fortune, and, in his youth, been twice obliged to abandon his capital, at last reigned peaceably in Spain ; and, if he did not revive the splendor this monarchy enjoyed, in the time of Philip II. he, at least, put it in a more flourishing state than it was in under Philip IV. and Charles II. He had only to put up with the hard necessity of always seeing Gibraltar, Minorca, and the commerce of the Spanish empire in America, in the hands of the English, which had disturbed the happiness of his administration. The conquest of Oran, from the Moors in 1732 ; the crown of Naples and Sicily, taken from the Austrians, and placed upon the head of his son Don Carlos, signalized his reign ; and sometime before his death, he flattered himself with seeing the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, submit to
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the infant Don Philip, his other son, by his second marriage with the princess of Parma.

Precipitated, like other princes, into those great designs, which put almost all Europe in motion, he experienced more than any one, the vanity of grandeur, and the grievous necessity of sacrificing so many thousands of men to interests which change every day. Disgusted with sovereignty, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Don Louis, and accepted it again after the death of that prince ; always ready to quit it, he testified, by his melancholy disposition, the bitterness that is attached to human nature, even in the midst of arbitrary power.

The news of the king's death arriving at the army after the defeat, augmented the embarrassment, into which they were all thrown. They were yet uncertain if Ferdinand VI. successor of Philip V. would do as much for his brother-in-law, as Philip had done for his son. The remaining part of this flourishing army of the triple alliance, were in greater danger than ever of being shut up without any resource ; they were between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia. To fight in a rugged country, or in an advantageous post against a superior army, is very common ; but to save conquered and surrounded troops very rare, and

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can be effected only by a thorough skill in the military art.

The count de Maillebois, (son of the marshal) was so hardy as to propose a skirmishing retreat. He undertook this enterprize, conducted it under the eyes of his father, and accomplished it. The three armies passed safely, in a day and night, over three bridges, with four thousand mules laden, and a thousand provision-waggon, forming themselves along the Tidona. Measures were so well taken, that neither the Sardinians nor Austrians could attack them till they were in a state of defence. The French and Spanish armies supported a long and obstinate engagement, in which they were not once put in disorder.

This day, more esteemed by the judges of the military science, than admired by the vulgar, was reckoned a happy one, because the object proposed was accomplished : it was, however, extremely disagreeable to retreat by Tortona, and to leave Placentia, and the whole country, in the power of the enemy. In effect, the day after this extraordinary battle, Placentia surrendered, and upwards of three thousand sick were made prisoners of war.

Of all this grand army, which was to subdue Italy, six thousand effective men only were left at Tortona. The same misfortune happened in

the time of Louis XIV. after the battle of Turin. Francis I. Louis XII. and Charles VIII. underwent the same disgraces :—very useful lessons, though never attended to!

They retired immediately to Gavi, towards the confines of the Genoese. The infant, and the duke of Modena, went to Genoa ; but far from being secure there, it only augmented their fears, to find it blocked up by an English fleet ; and they had no provision to support the few cavalry that still remained. Forty thousand Austrians, and twenty thousand Piedmontese approached it ; if they had remained in Genoa they might have defended it ; but they abandoned the counties of Nice, Savoy, and Provence. The marquis de la Mina, a new Spanish general, was sent to save the remains of the army. The Genoese petitioned, besought him to stay, but they could obtain nothing.

Genoa is not a city, that ought, like Milan, to carry its keys to whomsoever approaches it with an army ; besides the works of the city, there is a second rampart of more than two leagues extent, formed upon a chain of rocks. Beyond this double enclosure, the Appenine mountains in every part serve it as a fortification. The post of the Bocchetta, by which the enemy advanced, had been always deemed impregnable ; yet the troops which guarded this
post

post made no resistance, but went and joined the shattered army of the French and Spanish, which had filed off by Vintimiglia. The consternation of the Genoese would not permit them even to attempt a defence; they had a considerable artillery, and the enemy no cannon at all; but they did not wait its arrival, and terror precipitated them into every extremity they had reason to fear. The senate dispatched four senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were encamped, to receive from general Brown, and the marquis de Botta, d'Adorno, a Milanese, the empress queen's lieutenant-general, the terms they would be pleased to grant. They consented to put them in possession of the town in twenty four hours; to surrender their own soldiers, with the French and Spanish, prisoners of war; and to deliver up all the effects belonging to the subjects of France, Spain and Naples. They stipulated also, that four senators should be delivered as hostages at Milan; that they should pay upon the spot fifty thousand Genovins, which make about four hundred thousand French livres, 'till the conqueror should impose such taxes as she thought proper.

They recollected that Louis XIV. had formerly exacted of the doge of Genoa; that he, with four senators, should come to Versailles,

and make their excuses to him ; to the empress-queen they added two ; but she placed her glory in refusing what Louis had demanded : she was of opinion that there was little honour in humbling the weak, and only thought of raising heavy contributions on them, which she had more need of, than the vain ambition of seeing the doge of Genoa, with six Genoese, at the feet of the imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at twenty-four millions of livres,—enough to ruin it totally. This republic little thought, at the beginning of the war, for the succession of the house of Austria, that she should be made the victim of it ; but when the principal powers of Europe take arms, there is no little state which ought not to tremble.

The Austrian power, reduced in Flanders, but victorious in the Alps, was only embarrassed about the choice of the conquests she might make towards Italy. It appeared equally easy to enter Naples or Provence, and would have been easier to have kept Naples. The Austrian council believed that after having taken Toulon and Marseilles, there would be no difficulty in reducing the Two Sicilies, and that the passage to the Alps might be cut off from the French.

The twenty-eighth of October 1746, marshal Maillebois was upon the Var, which separates
France

France from Piedmont, with not quite eleven thousand men. The marquis de la Mina did not bring back nine thousand. The Spanish general separated at that time from the French, and turned towards Savoy, by the way of Dauphiny ; the Spaniards being always masters of this duchy, which they were willing to preserve, by abandoning the rest.

The conquerors passed the Var, with near forty thousand men. The remains of the French army retired into Provence, in want of every thing ;—half the officers on foot, without ammunition, or implements for destroying the bridges, and short of provisions.

The clergy, chief inhabitants, and the whole body of the people, ran to meet the Austrian detachments, to offer them contributions, and preserve themselves and families from being plundered.

Such were the effects of the revolutions of Italy, during the conquest of the Low Countries by the French ; and while prince Edward, of whom we shall speak hereafter, took and lost Scotland.

CHAP. XX.

The Austrians and Piedmontese enter into
PROVENCE; the English into BRITANY.

THE flames of war which began towards the Danube, and almost at the gates of Vienna, and had at first, the appearance only of a few months duration, had reached, after six years, the coasts of France. Almost all Provence was become a prey to the Austrians; on one side, their detachments desolated Dauphiny; on the other, they passed beyond the Durance. Vence and Grace were abandoned to pillage; the English made descents into Brittany, and their fleet anchored before Toulon and Marseilles, to assist their allies in taking these two cities, while other squadrons attacked the French possessions in Asia and America.

It was judged necessary to save Provence: marshal Belleisle was sent there; but, at first, without money, and without an army. It was his duty to repair the evils of an universal war, which he alone had occasioned: he saw nothing but desolation; a frightened militia; shattered regiments, without discipline, who tore the very hay and straw from each other, even the sumpter

fampter mules dying for want of nourishment; the enemy having ransacked and devoured every thing from the Var, to the rivers d'Argent and Durance. The infant Don Philip, and the duke of Modena, were in the town of Aix in Provence, where they waited the efforts of France and Spain to release them from this cruel situation.

Their resources were yet at a great distance; their wants and dangers pressing: the marshal found great difficulty to borrow, in his own name, fifty thousand crowns to supply the most urgent occasions; and was obliged to perform the offices of commissary and comptroller: afterwards, in proportion as the government sent him some battalions and squadrons, he took possession of posts, by means of which, he stopt the progress of the Austrians and Piedmontese. On one side, he covered Castellane, Draguignan, and Erignols, which the enemy were upon the point of taking.

In short, at the beginning of January 1747, finding himself sixty battalions, and twenty-two squadrons strong, and being seconded by the marquiss de la Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he saw himself in a condition of driving the enemy out of Provence, by pursuing them from post to post. They were still more embarrassed than the mar-

shal, on account of the failure of provisions : this essential article renders the greatest part of invasions abortive ; they had been furnished at first with provisions from Genoa ; but the surprising revolution of that place at this time, which all history cannot parallel, deprived them of a necessary support, and, by that means, obliged them to return to Italy.

CHAP. XXI.

Revolution of GENOA.

AT this time there happened in Genoa, an alteration as important as it was unforeseen.

The Austrians used the rights of victory with great rigour ; and the Genoese having exhausted their resources, and paid all their stock out of St. George's bank, which was sixteen millions, requested a release for the other eight ; but on the 30th of November 1746, it was signified to them, on the part of the empress queen, that they must not only discharge that sum, but also pay about the same sum, for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the suburbs of St. Pierre, of Arênes, of Bisagno,

sagno, and in the neighbouring villages. On the publication of these orders, despair seized all the inhabitants ; their commerce was sunk ; their credit lost ; their bank exhausted ; their magnificent country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, pillaged ; the inhabitants treated by the soldiers as slaves : in short, they had nothing more to lose except their lives ; and there was not a Genoese, who, at last, did not appearfully determined to sacrifice even life itself, rather than bear any longer a treatment so shameful and severe.

Genoa thus enslaved, still reckoned among her disgraces the loss of Corsica, which had so long revolted against them ; the Malecontents of which, would, without doubt, be for ever supported by the conquerors. Corsica, which complained of being oppressed by Genoa, in the same manner as Genoa was by the Austrians, rejoiced in this chaos of revolutions, at the misfortunes of their matters. This additional weight of calamity,—the loss of Corsica, was felt only by the senators, who lost nothing but a phantom of authority ; but the rest of the Genoese were a prey to those real afflictions, which slavery brings along with it.

Some of the senators fomented secretly and adroitly, the desperate resolutions that the inhabitants seemed disposed to take, in which they had

occasion for the greatest circumspection; because, in all appearance, a rash and ill-supported revolt, would bring destruction to the town and senate. The emissaries of the senators contented themselves with saying, to the most reputable of the people, “How long is it that
“you will wait for the Austrians to cut your
“throats, in the arms of your wives and chil-
“dren, and rob you of that small remainder of
“nourishment which you have left? Their
“troops are dispersed without the walls; and
“in the town only a few remain, who keep
“the guard of your gates: you are here up-
“wards of thirty thousand capable of a coup-
“de-main; is it not better to die than to be-
“hold the ruin of your country?” Such discourses animated the people; but as yet they did not dare to stir, nor had any one the courage to erect the standard of liberty.

The Austrians took cannon and mortars from the arsenal of Genoa, for the expedition of Provence, and made the inhabitants draw them, who murmured, but still obeyed. An Austrian captain having rudely struck one of them, who did not pull strong enough: this moment was a signal for the people to assemble; all was in motion, and they armed themselves with every thing they could find, stones, sticks, swords, musquets, and all sorts of instruments.

These

These people, who, when the enemy was at a great distance, had not the least thought of defending their city, now began to defend it, when that enemy was master of it. The marquis de Botta, who was at St. Pierre des Arènes, thought this commotion would subside of itself, and that fear would soon take place of this violent fury ; so that the next day he contented himself with reinforcing the guards at the gates, and sending a few detachments into the streets. The people assembled in a number superior to the guard, ran to the palace, and demanded of the doge the arms that were deposited there, who made no answer ; but the domestics shewed them another magazine, to which they fled, forced it open, and armed themselves ; an hundred officers distributed themselves in the market-place, the streets were barricaded, and the order, which the Austrians endeavoured as much as possible to restore, in this sudden and furious insurrection, by no means abated the ardour of the Genoese.

It appears, that on this and the following days, the consternation, which had so long struck the minds of the Genoese, had got possession of the Germans. They did not attempt to quell the people with regular troops, but left them to encrease their number, and make themselves

themselves masters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael.

The senate, not yet certain that the people would support what they had so well begun, sent a deputation to the Austrian general in St. Pierre des Arènes. The marquis de Botta was negotiating when he should have taken up arms, and told the senators that they should arm the Genoese troops which were left disarmed in the town, join the Austrians, and fall upon the rebels at the signal he should give: but it could not be expected that the senate of Genoa should join the oppressors of their country to destroy its defenders, and complete its ruin.

The Germans giving credit to the intelligences they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Bisagno, by the suburb of that name, but were received by a discharge of cannon and musquetry. The inhabitants of Genoa now composed an army, beat the drum in the name of the whole people, and ordered all the citizens, under pain of death, to appear in arms, and range themselves under the standards of their respective quarters. The Germans were attacked in the fauxbourg de Bisagno, and of St. Pierre des Arènes at once; the alarm-bell was heard, at the same time, in all the villages of the vallies, and the peasants assembled to the
number

number of twenty thousand. A prince, named Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis de Botta, in St. Pierre des Arènes : the General, and his nine regiments, retired in disorder, leaving four thousand prisoners, and near one thousand killed, with all their magazines and equipages, and marched to the post of Bochetta, pursued continually by the simple peasants, and were forced at last to abandon this post also, and fly quite to Gavi.

Thus, by too much despising and overburdening the people, and being simple enough to believe that the senate would join them, even against the inhabitants who supported the senate, the Austrians lost Genoa. All Europe saw, with surprize, that a weak body of people, totally unacquainted with arms, and whom neither their enclosure of rock, nor the support of the kings of France, Spain and Naples, could save from the Austrian bondage, broke it themselves without any succours, and drove away their conquerors.

In these tumults many robberies were committed, and the houses of those senators, who were suspected of favouring the Austrian interest, were pillaged ; but the most astonishing circumstance in this revolution, was, that this same people, who had four thousand of their conqueror's soldiers in prison, did not rebel
against

against their masters. They had chiefs, but they had been pointed out to them by the senate, and among themselves there was no one considerable enough to usurp the authority long. The people chose thirty-six citizens to govern them, but added four senators, Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari; and these four nobles secretly gave intelligence of all that passed to the senate, which, to appearance, no longer interfered in the government; though it actually presided, and caused a public disavowal to be made at Vienna, of the revolution it fomented at Genoa, and for which they dreaded the most horrible vengeance: its minister at that court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no hand in this alteration of affairs, which he stiled a revolt. The council of Vienna, acting still as masters, and imagining they should soon be able to recover Genoa, notified to him, that the senate must instantly pay the remaining eight millions of the sum exacted from the republic, and give thirty more for the damage suffered by their troops, restoring likewise all the prisoners, and executing justice on the seditious. These orders, which an enraged master might have given to his rebellious and impotent subjects, only served to confirm the Genoese in the resolution to defend themselves, in hopes of driving from their territories,

ritories, those whom they had turned out of their capital. Four thousand Austrians still remaining as hostages in the prisons of Genoa, gave them farther encouragement. In the mean time, the Austrians, aided by the Piedmontese, by quitting Provence, threatened to retake Genoa. One of the Austrian generals had already reinforced his army with some troops of Albany, accustomed to fight among rocks. These are the descendants of the ancient Epirotes, who pass for as great warriors as their ancestors. He gained these Epirotes by means of his uncle, the famous Schulembourg, who, after having resisted Charles XII. king of Sweden, defended Corfu against the Ottoman empire: the Austrians, thus reinforced, repassed the Bochetta; they approached very near Genoa, and the country, to the right and left, was abandoned to the fury of irregular troops, to sackage and devastation. All Genoa was in a consternation: terror produced a secret correspondence with their oppressors; and, to add to this misfortune, there was a great division, at this time, between the senate and the people. The city had provisions, but no money; and eighteen thousand florins per diem was wanting to defray the expences of the militia, who were skirmishing in the country, as well as those who defended the city. The re-

public had not one experienced officer, nor any regular disciplined forces ; no succours could arrive but by sea, and then with the risque of being taken by an English fleet, commanded by admiral Medley, who was master of its coasts.

The king of France, however, sent the senate a million of livres, by a small vessel which escaped the English fleet. The gallies of Toulon and Marseilles, set sail with six thousand soldièrs ; they put into Corsica and Monaco, partly on account of a storm, but chiefly for fear of the English fleet : this fleet took six of them, with about a thousand men, but at last the remainder reached Genoa, with about four thousand five hundred French troops, which revived the hopes of the inhabitants.

Soon after, the duke de Boufflers arrived, and took upon him the command of the forces which defended Genoa, whose number daily encreased. This General had passed the English admiral unnoticed in a small bark.

The duke de Boufflers found himself at the head of about eight thousand regular troops, in a blockaded city, and expecting every moment to be besieged ; in which there was no regularity, no provisions, no powder, and the chiefs of the people at variance with the senate. The Austrians always had some spies in it ; and the duke had as much trouble at first with those
he

he came to defend, as those he came to engage. He re-established order every where, and provisions were landed in safety, on paying proper consideration to some of the captains of the English fleet:—thus private interest repairs public misfortunes! The Austrians had some friars in their interest; but the Genoese made use of the same arms with more success. The confessors were engaged to refuse absolution to those who wavered between their country and the Austrians. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his zeal in haranguing them, and by his example in fighting. He was killed in one of the skirmishes which happened daily, and died exhorting the Genoese to defend themselves. The Genoese ladies pledged their jewels to the Jews, for money to defray the expences of the necessary fortifications.

But the greatest of all encouragements was, the valour of the French troops, whom the duke often sent out to attack the enemy in their post, and even beyond the double works of Genoa. They succeeded in almost all these little sallies, whose particular history, at that time, drew attention, but was afterwards lost in the multiplicity of greater events.

The court of Vienna, at last, ordered the blockade to be raised. The duke de Boufflers did

did not enjoy this glory and happiness, for he died of the small-pox on the 27th of June 1747, the very day that the enemy retired. He was the son of marshal Boufflers, who was held in so great esteem as a General, a virtuous man, and a good citizen, in the time of Louis XIV. His son possessed all his father's good qualities.

Genoa was no longer closely attacked; but it was still threatened by the Piedmontese, who were masters of all its environs; by the English fleet, which stopped up her ports, and by the Austrians, who were returning from the Alps, to fall upon her. It was necessary that marshal Belleisle should come down into Italy, which would be attended with the greatest difficulties. Genoa seemed at the last extremity; the kingdom of Naples exposed; all hopes lost of establishing Don Philip in Italy, and the duke of Modena, in this case, appeared without resource; but Louis XV. was not discouraged.

He sent the duke de Richelieu to Genoa, with fresh troops and money. The duke escaped the English fleet in a small vessel, and landed at Genoa on the 27th of September 1747; his troops met with the same success. The court of Madrid seconded these efforts; sent about three thousand men to Genoa, and promised the Genoese two hundred and fifty thousand

thousand livres per month, which the king of France paid them. The duke de Richelieu, in several engagements, repulsed the enemy; he fortified all the posts, and secured the coasts, when the court of England exhausted itself to crush Genoa, as that of France did to defend it. The English ministry gave one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to the empress queen, and the same sum to the king of Sardinia, to undertake the siege of Genoa. The English lost the money they advanced: marshal Belleisle, after having taken the province of Nice, kept the Austrians and the Piedmontese in continual alarm, lest, if they attempted the siege of Genoa, he should fall upon them in the rear:—thus the marshal, and the combined armies of Austria and Savoy, impeded each other's progress.

CHAP. XXII.

Battle of EXILES fatal to the French.

TO penetrate into Italy, in spite of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, what way was to be taken? The Spanish general, La Mina, wanted to file off to Final, by a road on the Side of the Ponent, where the troops could only pass one by one; but had neither cannon nor provisions. To transport the French artillery; to preserve a communication of forty days march, by a route equally close and steep, where every thing must be carried on the backs of mules; to be exposed continually to the cannon of the English fleet: all these difficulties appeared insurmountable. The road of Demont and of Coni was proposed, but to besiege Coni was an enterprize well known to be dangerous. It was determined to take the route by the neck of the Exiles, about twenty-five leagues from Nice, and it was resolved to carry that place.

This enterprize was not less difficult; but there was no choice to be made in so many perils. Marshal Belleisle eagerly seized this
occasion

occasion to signalize himself; he possessed as much bravery to execute a project, as dexterity to conduct it; an indefatigable man, both in the cabinet and in the field. He set out and took his route back by Dauphiny; and penetrating afterwards towards the neck of the Affietto on the road to Exiles, he found there twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, who were waiting for him behind ramparts of stone and wood, fifteen feet high, and thirteen feet in thickness, lined with artillery. To carry these fortifications, Belleisle had only twenty-eight battalions, and seven field-pieces, which could hardly be placed to advantage. They were yet emboldened to this enterprize by the remembrance of the battles of Montalban, and of Chateau-dauphin, which seemed to justify their audacity. There are no attacks equal in all respects; and it is more difficult and more fatal to attack pallisadoes, which must be plucked up by the hand, under a descending, continual fire, than to climb up and fight upon rocks; besides, the Piedmontese were well disciplined,—troops that had been commanded by the king of Sardinia were not to be despised. The action lasted two hours; that is to say, the Sardinians killed all the French they thought proper within that space of time. Field-marshal

shal Arnaud, who led on a detachment, was one of the first who was mortally wounded, and likewise Mons. de Grille, major-general of the army.

Among all the bloody engagements which signalized this war on all sides, this was one of those which was the most to be deplored, on account of the premature loss of several promising young men of distinction idly sacrificed. The count de Goas, colonel of the regiment of Bourbon, perished in it; the marquis de Donge, colonel of the Soissons, received a wound, of which he died six days after the battle. The marquis de Brienne, after he had lost an arm, marched up to the pallisadoes crying out, "There yet remains another for the king's service," and was killed. They reckoned three thousand six hundred and ninety-five slain, and one thousand six hundred and six wounded,—a fatality; contrary to the general event of battles, wherein the wounded exceed the number of the dead! A great number of officers perished; all the officers of the regiment of Bourbon were killed or wounded, and the Piedmontese did not lose one hundred. Belleisle, in despair, tore up the pallisadoes; and being wounded in both his hands, he still tugged at the stakes with his teeth, when

when he received a mortal blow. He had often said, that a General ought not to survive his defeat, and he proved too clearly that this sentiment was engraven on his heart. The wounded were carried to Briançon, where the fatal disaster of this day was quite unexpected. Mons. d'Audifret, the king's lieutenant, sold his silver plate to relieve the sick. His lady, though ready to lye-in, undertook the care of the hospitals, dressed the wounded with her own hands, and died in the discharge of this pious office;—a melancholy, but noble example, worthy to be consecrated in history!

CHAP. XXIII.

The King of FRANCE Master of FLANDERS ; and victorious, in vain makes Offers of Peace. The taking of DUTCH-BRABANT. The Situation of Affairs creates a Stadtholder.

IN this bustle of events, sometimes unfortunate, and sometimes favourable ; the king, victorious in Flanders, was the only sovereign who desired peace. Having always a right to attack the territories of the Dutch, and constantly threatening to do it, he thought to bring them over to his design of a general pacification, by proposing to them a congress to be held in one of their own towns. Breda was fixed upon, and the marquis de Puissieux, the king's minister-plenipotentiary, was the first there. The Dutch sent M. Wassenaar, without having any determined view. The court of England, which did not incline to peace, could not publicly refuse it. The earl of Sandwich, a grandson, by the mother's side, of the famous Wilmot, earl of Rochester, was the English plenipotentiary. But while the allies

allies of the empress queen had ministers at this useless congress, that princes did not think proper to send any. It was the interest of the Dutch, more than of any other power, to promote the happy effect of these pacific appearances. A people wholly commercial, not war-like, who had neither good generals nor good soldiers, and whose best troops were prisoners in France, to the number of thirty five thousand men, it might be imagined could have no other object in view, than that of averting such another storm from their territories as they had seen fall upon Flanders. Holland was no longer a maritime power; its admiralties could not then put to sea twenty men of war. The states all perceived, that if the war broke into their provinces, they must elect a stadtholder, and consequently a master. The magistrates of Utrecht, of Dort, and of the Brill, had always contended for a neutrality, and some other members of the state were avowedly of the same opinion. In a word; it is certain, that if the States General had taken a firm resolution to restore peace to Europe, they might have effected it; they might have added this honour to that of having formerly made a flourishing free state of such an inconsiderable country; and they had the power to acquire it a long time in their hands, but the English party, and

general prejudice prevailed. I do not believe there are a people on earth who conquer ancient prejudices, with so much difficulty, as the Dutch nation. The irruption of Louis XIV. and the year 1672 were still at heart; and I may venture to say, that I have discovered on more occasions than one, that their minds, struck with the ambitious haughtiness of Louis XIV. could not comprehend the moderation of Louis XV. They never thought him sincere; they regarded all his pacific measures, and all his caution, either as proofs of weakness, or snares.

The king, unable to persuade them, was obliged to conquer a part of their country: while this useless congress was held, he sent his forces into Dutch Flanders; a province dismembered from the domains of the very house of Austria, for whose defence they had undertaken it. It commences a league below Ghent, and extends to the right and to the left; on one side, to Middleburgh in Zealand, and on the other, to the escaut below Antwerp; it is lined with a number of small forts, capable of resistance. The king, before he took this province, carried his moderation so far, as to notify to the States General that he should look on these fortresses only as pledges, which he should engage to restore as soon as the Dutch should cease to foment the war, by granting free

free passage, and aids of men and money to his enemies.

No account was made of this indulgence, an irruption alone was perceived, and the march of the French troops made a stadtholder. What the abbé de la Ville had foretold to some of the high and mighty lords, who refused all terms of reconciliation, and wanted to change the form of government, when he was the king's envoy in Holland, now actually happened. "It will not be yourselves, but we, who shall give you a master."

The people in general, on the news of an invasion, demanded the prince of Orange for their stadtholder. The town of Tervere, of which he was lord, began by nominating him. All the towns in Zealand followed the example; Rotterdam and Delft proclaimed him, and it was useless for the regents to oppose the multitude. The inhabitants of the Hague surrounded the palace where the deputies of the province of Holland and West-Friezland assembled, the most powerful of the seven, which alone pays one half of the expences of the republic, and whose pensionary is looked upon as the most considerable person in the state. It was necessary, in an instant, to hoist the flags of the house of Orange, on the palace and on the town-house, to appease the people, and two

days after the prince was elected stadtholder. The commission recites, “ That in consideration of the dreadful situation of affairs, “ they appoint William Charles Henry Frizo, “ prince of Orange, of the branch of Nassau- “ dist, to be stadtholder, captain-general, and “ high admiral.” He was soon acknowledged throughout the seven provinces, and received in that quality at the assembly of the States General. The terms in which the province of Holland had couched his election, shewed too plainly that the magistrates had appointed him against their will. It is sufficiently known that every prince aims at being absolute, and that every republic is ungrateful. The United Provinces, which owed to the house of Nassau the greatest power that any petty state ever attained, could seldom fix upon the just medium between what they were indebted to the blood of their deliverers, and what they owed to their freedom.

Louis XIV. in 1672, and Louis XV. in 1747, created two stadtholders through terror; and the inhabitants of Holland have twice re-established this stadtholdership, which the magistracy wanted to destroy.

Their High Mightinesses had kept the prince of Orange as ignorant of public affairs as they possibly could, and even when the province of
Guelders

Guelders had chosen him for stadtholder in 1722: although this character, was, at that time, only a title of honour, though he could not dispose of any employment, nor change any garrison, nor issue any orders; yet the states of Holland wrote in strong terms to those of Guelders, to dissuade them from a resolution which they stiled fatal. One moment now deprived them of the power they had enjoyed for fifty years: the new stadtholder began, at setting out, with suffering the populace to pillage and pull down the houses of the collectors of the excise, all relations and dependants of the burgomasters; and when the magistrates were thus attacked by the people, the military were obliged to restrain their fury.

The prince, quite tranquil amidst these commotions, procured himself the same authority which had been given to king William, and thus secured his power the firmer in his family. Not only the stadtholdership became hereditary to his male issue, but even to his daughters and their posterity; for, sometime afterwards, a law was passed, and in default of the male issue, a woman might be stadtholder and captain-general, provided she committed the exercise of the functions of her office to her husband; and, in case of minority, the widow of the stadtholder was to have the title of *Governante*,
and

and to nominate a prince to perform the functions of the stadtholdership.

By this revolution, the United Provinces became a kind of mixt monarchy, less limited, in many respects, than those of England, Sweden and Poland. Thus nothing turned out in all this war, which had been imagined at first ; and every thing, contrary to the expectations of all the powers engaged in it, actually came to pass. The enterprizes, the successes, and the misfortunes of prince Charles Edward in England, were perhaps the most singular of any of those events that astonished all Europe.

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